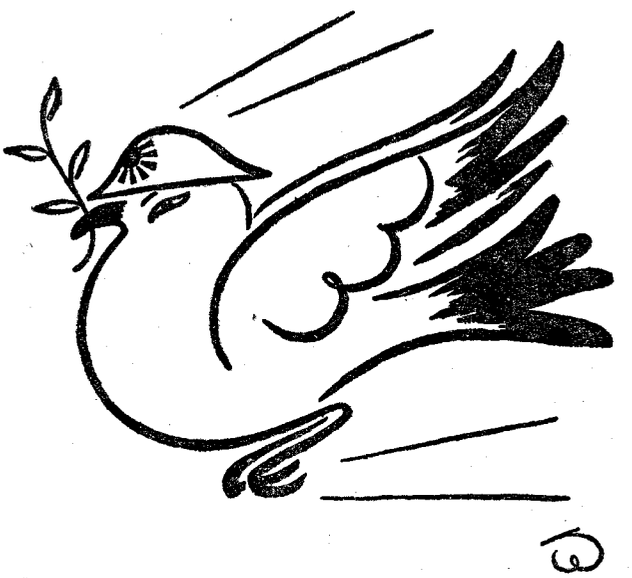
Louis Adamic: American—*Carey McWilliams*

THE *Nation*

September 22, 1951



After Japan—Germany

The San Francisco Conference

BY FREDERICK KUH

*

Wage Controls No Bargain

BY SID LENS

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Echoes from San Francisco

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, September 11

FROM the American point of view the headlines in European newspapers over reports of the San Francisco conference were entirely satisfactory: "Brilliant Victory for the United States; Defeat for the U. S. S. R." was the substance of most of them. Beneath, however, were comments which if read attentively might well give pause to American policy-makers.

President Truman's remarks at the meeting of Democratic Party leaders on the first day of the conference received much more notice here than his speech at the Opera House. Many were shocked that he should choose the moment when the peace conference was about to open to announce "fantastic new weapons," capable of destroying civilization. The Gaullist *Paris-Presse,* which could hardly be suspected of being pro-Russian, said:

> Traditional diplomacy is indeed dead. In former times diplomats had the courtesy never to stress the power of the arms and divisions behind them except by allusion.

It added with reference to Mr. Truman's speech before the conference:

> It is unusual to hear the head of a state declare at the opening of a peace conference, "There are bandits among nations."

And returning to the boast of "fantastic new weapons," this rabidly anti-Communist paper warned:

> Soviet propaganda will not fail to make good use of that phrase.

The procedure followed at the conference also provoked criticism in rightist circles. The Continental edition of the London *Daily Mail* doubted whether the Western powers were well advised "to use Russia's own tactics and stifle all debate." A dispatch from San Francisco in the same issue of the paper said:

> Western opinion has been noticeably affected by the curt American rejections of other so-called Russian "peace" gestures in recent weeks.

But more serious than any matter of procedure in the view of observers on this side of the Atlantic was the fact that the most urgent Asian problems—the restoration of peace in Korea, relations with the new China, relations with India—remained unsolved. There is great anxiety here over the increasing international tension. Pertinax, in one of the acute analyses he has been cabling from San Francisco to *France-Soir,* said that the cold war was being speeded up and the gulf between the two blocs was widening.

The same impression was conveyed in a dispatch from Washington sent by the semi-official Agence Française de Presse. Certain Western diplomats in Washington, the A. F. P. correspondent said, "are asking themselves whether a policy of firmness *à l'outrance* toward the Soviet Union might not rebound against the Western world."

> It would be dangerous to adopt such a policy even slightly in advance of having the means to carry it out. If America got tough, and Russia responded similarly, touching off a conflict in the entire Far East, the United States and its far from enthusiastic allies would face a war of exhaustion in Asia from which, it is believed in these circles, only the Soviet Union and communism would profit.

The comments of that sector of liberal European opinion represented, for example, by the Manchester *Guardian* were of course even more outspoken. In such quarters there has been general assent to the view expressed by the London *Times* last April—that "the forces of old Japan are gathering again." It is believed, moreover, that the signing of the treaty with Japan, given the political and other circumstances in which it took place, is bound to encourage the most reactionary elements in Germany. Liberal and left papers have called attention to the fact that on the very day of the signing fifty-seven German generals and admirals announced at Bonn the merger of a number of associations of war veterans, "uniting several million Germans who intend to have a say in the future policy of Germany." Liberal opinion is not happy, either, over the clause in the defense pact between the United States and Japan which states that American troops stationed in Japan may be used, in agreement with the Japanese government, to repress "internal disturbances." But let us return to conservative sources.

The fear that the policy of containing Russia was pushed too far at San Francisco was clearly expressed in an editorial in the London *Observer* of September 7:

> America is not only engaged in a vast rearmament program of her own but is giving arms to countries on Russia's periphery; she is establishing air bases all round the world; she is bent on rearming Germany and Japan; she holds on to Formosa and supports Chiang Kai-shek. Is there not great danger that Russia, faced with what she regards as encirclement, may decide to gamble on war before the odds against her become overwhelming?

About the motives which led Russia to go to San Francisco to suffer "total defeat" opinions differ. The leading columnist of the right-wing Paris *Figaro,* Raymond Aron, cabled his paper:

> Those who pose this question do not know the Stalinists. It is only necessary to read Lenin's brochure on the infantilism of communism to understand. Lenin criticized the Bolsheviks who wished to keep out of electoral and parliamentary struggles so as not to appear in the minority. The men in the Kremlin did not wish to give the impression, by staying away, that they were abandoning Japan to Western influence. They underscored their interest by their protests.

Most of the official statements and press comments I have read and broadcasts I have heard have betrayed an eagerness to discover in Mr. Gromyko's words or actions at San Francisco some sign of ill-humor which could be offered as proof of belligerence. A restrained Kremlin, it has been proved once more, inspires more anxiety than an aggressive Kremlin. This fact will not escape Russia's notice and will undoubtedly induce it to continue its peace offensive up to the moment that the U. N. Assembly opens in Paris in November.

In Early Issues

The Oatis Trial
By James Lawrence Fly

The World Newsprint Famine
By Andrew Roth

Indonesia: The Youngest Republic
By Dorothy Woodman

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • SEPTEMBER 22, 1951 NUMBER 12

The Shape of Things

GENERAL MARSHALL WAS A DISTINGUISHED Secretary of Defense, a man whose personality and record lent great dignity to his post. His retirement came at a time, and in a manner, that reduced its consequences to a minimum. The country accepts Robert A. Lovett as an appropriate successor. In fact, the shift will probably make little difference in policy or procedure. If any change is to be expected, it is in the direction of an even more aggressive drive toward rearmament and a more hard-boiled approach to relations with both allies and enemies. Mr. Lovett is undoubtedly as efficient and as prompt in action as General Marshall proclaimed him to be, but if he has any real awareness of the political implications of American military policy we have never noticed it. He has also taken a consistently "tough" position on Russia, opposing any moves that might produce a settlement he considered inexpedient and premature; he intervened personally, according to Marquis Childs, to block the plan in 1948 to send Chief Justice Vinson to Moscow to talk terms with Stalin. Of a very different nature is the choice of Chester B. Bowles, as ambassador to India to replace Loy Henderson, who will succeed Ambassador Grady at Tehran. Former Governor Bowles is not only an unrepentant New Dealer; he is also a man who has thought deeply about the needs of the underdeveloped areas of the world and about the political tensions that develop out of economic misery and exploitation. In India he will speak a language that makes sense to people struggling with problems of unparalleled magnitude. No single individual can overcome the prejudice and suspicion toward the United States that today dominates the mind of Asia, but Chester Bowles can do as much in that direction as any envoy we could send. *

THE SWEATER-AND-JEANS SET OF CARLSBAD, New Mexico—with an assist from the high cost of segregation—has overruled the recent decision of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals holding segregation in secondary schools constitutional. When the New Mexico school board first refused to accredit Carlsbad's Jim Crow high school, liberals in the Southwest hardly took notice. Unaccredited Jim Crow schools in southeastern New Mexico were old hat. In tiny Hobbs the citizenry voted to appropriate $127,000 for a new Jim Crow school rather than exercise the state constitutional option of permitting Negro youths to attend existing "white" schools. In Las Cruces, Negroes attend an unaccredited, segregated high school of which there is no official record! The fiction of non-existence is even applied at graduation time when the Negro students are issued diplomas from the "white" school and are thereby "qualified" for entry into the University of New Mexico. But in Carlsbad the unexpected happened. There Irvin P. Murphy, the Superintendent of Schools, advised the community that a new Jim Crow school with facilities equal to those of the "white" high school could be constructed only at the cost of $10,000 per student. Carlsbad, which has long followed the Deep South pattern, promptly reconsidered its Jim Crow policy. In a poll on the question of segregation the 1951 graduating class and the senior council of the "white" high school voted unanimously to welcome Negro students. The junior and senior class and faculty members were 95 per cent in favor of mixed attendance. As a result, for the first time in Carlsbad's history Negro and white students are attending integrated high-school classes.

*

FIRST REACTIONS TO THE JAPANESE PEACE Treaty reveal an interesting cleavage between close adherents to the position of the China lobby, on the one hand, and those Senators and Congressmen who favor the "broader" views of MacArthur as interpreted by John Foster Dulles. The first group has a curious personal attachment and loyalty to Chiang Kai-shek, while the second would use or not use the Chinese Nationalists as circumstances might dictate. Thus Senators H. Alexander Smith and William Knowland, inclining toward the MacArthur-Dulles view, praised the treaty as a triumph of bipartisanship. But Senator Pat McCarran, in a speech in Reno, was quick to denounce it as Andrei Gromyko's "greatest victory." The Senator's theory, of course, is that "a free and sovereign Japan" would be more likely to be drawn into the trade orbit of the Chinese Communists than a Japan without a treaty. This is also the theme of McCarran's Republican colleague from Nevada, Senator George W. Malone—a circumstance which suggests a possible connection between

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"silver" and the China lobby. Senator Malone, more specific than his colleague, charged that the treaty was calculated to bring about the downfall of Nationalist China; it was, he said, "the final slap in the face." Similarly Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, while conceding that Mr. Acheson "did a good gavel-banging job," protested that the treaty undercut "anti-Communists in China" and kept Nationalist China from attending the conference. These objections should be interpreted with the aid of the twenty-eight-page "White Book" which the Chinese Nationalists distributed in San Francisco. The book contains a statement by Chiang Kai-shek issued in Formosa during the summer denouncing any treaty negotiated with Japan without the participation of the Nationalists as "unjust and unrealistic . . . lacking in both moral force and legal justification." The Chinese Nationalists are aware not only that the treaty is highly unpopular in China but that the failure to include them in the conference was a serious blow to what little prestige they may still possess among opportunistic or rightist elements in China.

*

IN HOLLYWOOD ON SEPTEMBER 2, 1947, playwright Emmet Lavery, actor Albert Dekker, Mrs. Lela Rogers (mother of Ginger Rogers), and Senator Jack B. Tenney took part in a Town Meeting radio debate on the question: "Is There Really a Communist Threat in Hollywood?" In the course of the debate, Mrs. Rogers accused Lavery, a prominent Catholic and author of a motion picture based on the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty, of "following the Communist Party line" and charged that his play, "A Gentleman From Athens," was "un-American propaganda." A Los Angeles jury recently agreed with Mr. Lavery that these remarks were libelous and damaging and awarded him $30,000 damages. Our interest, however, is not so much in the verdict as in a point which was argued during the trial. Morrie Ryskind, one of the defendants, testified that to charge a person with writing "un-American propaganda" would have no effect on his earning capacity as a writer. Yet Mr. Lavery testified that his earnings, which amounted to $45,491 in 1945 and $42,219 in 1946, dropped to $28,394 in 1947 and $16,358 in 1948. In the year following the radio debate, only one studio in Hollywood offered Lavery, author of many successful screen plays and the highly successful play, *The Magnificent Yankee*, a writing assignment. Now that the trial is over it is possible to suggest a realistic test of Mr. Ryskind's theory of the relation between reputation and earning capacity. Let a series of witnesses, including Elizabeth Bentley and Louis Budenz, make against Mr. Ryskind the same charges that were made against Mr. Lavery. If Ryskind could be persuaded to cooperate in the experiment, we are confident the results will refute his theory.

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ON JUNE 21, 1949, NINE PERSONS WERE injured in racial fighting which broke out at Fairgrounds Park in St. Louis in the wake of a court order opening the park's formerly segregated swimming pool to Negroes. More than 350 police were rushed to the park to restore order. Last year, with police standing by, Negroes and whites used the pool together. Verbal threats were hurled at the Negroes but there was none of the violence of 1949. This summer found more and more whites and Negroes using the pool. Police surveillance was still maintained, but tolerance appeared to have gained a beachhead. Then one hot mid-afternoon a "protest" meeting was held on the sidewalk in front of Beaumont High School, one of the largest secondary schools in St. Louis, directly opposite Fairgrounds Park. Mounting a truck, two leaders of the Christian Nationalist Crusade filled the air with abuse and invective. John W. Hamilton, associate editor of *The Cross and Flag*, called for "a return of the black plague to Africa." Denouncing Mayor Joseph M. Darst for not stepping in to halt mixed swimming in the Fairgrounds pool, he shouted: "The politicians won't do anything because they don't want to lose the Nigger vote! The Nigger is taking St. Louis from the white man!" Don Lohrbeck, editor of *The Cross and Flag*, followed Hamilton to the microphone. "The Negroes are destroying the property values of the white people. . . . The next thing you know they will be taking away your jobs." The Christian Nationalists—a legally recognized party in Missouri—have now drawn up a petition for a segregation ordinance which they hope to place on the ballot for the next city-wide election. They claim to have 25,000 signatures already or enough to insure the measure a place on the ballot. The Nationalists promise that they will not slacken their efforts until "the Negro population of the United States has been repatriated to Africa." They are equally acid in their verbal and printed attacks on American Jewry. "We believe in white supremacy," Hamilton said recently, "and we won't stop until every black in St. Louis is gone."

Ten Million Families

WHEN the Joint Committee on the Economic Report appointed a Subcommittee on Low Income Families, which published its studies last year, some members wondered what human problems lay behind the statistics. They can find the answer if they will take the time to read a report of the Conference Group on Low Income Families, prepared in the spring and summer of 1950 by nine voluntary social-welfare organizations and recently published under the title "Making Ends Meet on Less than $2,000 a Year." The report contains summaries of 100 case studies of individual households in twenty-seven states and the District of Columbia that somehow managed to get along on annual incomes of less than $2,000 in 1949—a year in which 10,500,000 American families fell within this same category. Today, as the figures cited on page 229 of this issue indicate, the number of families might be even greater. While a hundred families cannot be taken as a fair statistical sample of ten and a half million, the case histories point up the anachronism of mass poverty of the "not-quite-making-ends-meet" variety in the United States in the middle of the twentieth century.

In the report you meet the people, not the statistics: bakers, truckmen, postmen; goldsmiths and mold-makers; tool and sheet-metal workers; owners of pickle works, machine shops, and laundries; G. I.'s on their way up, mothers trying to keep their homes intact; share-croppers and migratory workers. Here they are: the Diaz family of San Diego, the migrant Crompton family of Texas, the Dobbs family of Elmira, the Mahoneys of Pittsburgh, and dozens of others, with their struggles and desperate makeshifts, their ingenuity and grit, as well as their failures and unwise choices.

Looking over these cases, the Conference Group found a number of recurrent themes: low wages; intermittent employment; ill health, broken homes, handicaps in education and skills; poor diets; miserable housing, except for the fortunate few who live in public housing projects; crushing burdens of debt, frequently caused by disastrous illnesses. But there was also the theme of hope—hope that the children would get a better education and ultimately have a better life; hope that the defense program would bring back the "good times" of the war years, with steady jobs, good wages, and prices "held to reason."

The facts which attest to this unpleasant reality of ten and a half million families dependent on annual incomes of less than $2,000 in a year of high employment are ably presented in the report, but the analysis sidesteps the basic issues. To cite as "causes" of insufficient income such factors as low wages, broken homes, debts, and ill health is rather like explaining the causes of an automobile accident in terms of dented fenders and cracked crankcases. A glance at Sid Lens's article on wage stabilization in this issue will indicate that symptoms have been mistaken for causes.

Without attempting to formulate a precise legislative program to deal with the needs revealed in the report, the Conference Group offers some comments. "Through a framework of protective legislation we have tried to safeguard livelihood at its weakest points. . . . But . . . throughout the day-by-day work of our voluntary services we are repeatedly made aware of households which are not covered or are inadvertently covered by the provisions we have set up." And in each instance excellent suggestions are presented for remedying the various weaknesses and inadequacies in our scheme of social

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security. But the basic problem faced by the hundred families of the report is that they lack sufficient political power to insist that they be paid incomes adequate to their needs; they are the unorganized whose interests cannot compete politically with those of the powerful pressure groups.

It is perhaps too much to hope that every member of Congress will read this report. But we would like to express the hope and also to repeat a warning which every sober friend of American democracy knows in his heart to be true. If in the name of containment and defense, we put aside action of the sort called for by the Conference Group to meet the needs of ten million American families, we shall dangerously weaken the cause which our policies are designed to support. As the Conference Group significantly remarks: "We have left it for the most part to the insight of all concerned to sense what such conditions exact in terms of the human spirit." Not that the hundred families of this report have despaired; their spirit, on the whole, seems to be admirable. But the fact that ten and a half million American families should be hovering in the twilight zone between utter destitution and bare subsistence is some measure of the extent to which the foundations of democracy need strengthening at home.

The Issue Is Germany

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

AT THE end of four days of off-the-record consultation in Washington, the foreign ministers of Britain, France, and the United States published a Declaration which concluded with these lines:

> The three ministers reaffirm that this policy, which will be undertaken in concert with the other free nations, is directed to the establishment and the maintenance of a durable peace founded on justice and law. Their aim is to reinforce the security and the prosperity of Europe without changing in any way the purely defensive character of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. They reaffirm their determination that in no circumstances shall the above arrangements be made use of in furtherance of any aggressive action.

According to an unnamed American official, quoted in the New York *Times*, this paragraph was regarded as most important, indicating that "the door is not closed to negotiations with the Soviet Union," and that the Western powers are willing to "try again," if Moscow makes it possible, for a settlement with Russia.

The Declaration followed a Communiqué announcing the decision of the three ministers to end the occupation of Western Germany, negotiate new agreements with the Bonn government which would integrate "the Federal Republic on a basis of equality within a European community itself included in a developing Atlantic community," and provide for "German participation in Western defense through the proposed European defense community, whose forces would form part of the joint defense forces under the North Atlantic supreme command." The fact which lies bedded in that thick pad of cushioning words was of course settled before the ministers met: Western Germany, armed and sovereign, will now take its place as one of the Western allies. Juxtaposed beside this momentous fact, the affirmation that the Big Three powers are ready to try for a negotiated settlement is rather astonishing, for if anything short of armed attack is likely to goad Russia into direct military action it is the rearming of Germany and its integration into the Atlantic alliance. Following on the heels of the Japanese peace treaty and Japan's bilateral defense pact with the United States, the challenge is even more direct, and one is led to suspect that the peaceable purposes voiced in the Declaration were intended as much to reassure members of the Western coalition themselves as to impress or convince the Russians.

For the West needs reassurance. Even the high military and political brass of all the North Atlantic treaty nations gathered at Ottawa to work out accelerated plans for the defense of Europe need to be convinced, and to be able to convince their anxious people, that they are not rushing headlong toward war. First of all, they want to be sure that the United States is *in* the Atlantic "community," a participating member rather than a boss and paymaster. They are disturbed by the many critical decisions which have been made and announced in Washington before being fully discussed within the N. A. T. O. They are worried by the threat to their economies and to the stability of their governments implied in the size and tempo of the rearmament plans. They are particularly afraid of inflation, with its frightening political overtones. Anne O'Hare McCormick, commenting from Ottawa on the reasons why the N. A. T. O. conference was held in that capital, said that the Western European nations had come to regard Canada as "a goad and a brake on our course." "They think," she went on, "that Canada is in a better position than they are to argue with Washington. Thus Mr. Pearson's thesis that inflation has become the major menace to Western security, with its corollary that our policies are largely responsible for it, reflects the view of so many statesmen here that the economic aspects and effects of rearmament are certain to be pretty thoroughly examined and discussed."

The European nations want to thrash these matters out and arrive at understandings about raw materials, prices, and the financing of rearmament which will put the whole stupendous effort on a basis of mutual and equal sacrifice. It was not a Communist or Gaullist paper but the now ultra pro-American and conservative *Le*

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Monde which recently published an editorial series arguing that "if the Atlantic community is to become a reality and assure the victory of the West over communism, it seems necessary that America revise its conceptions, political and moral, as to the share of the sacrifices she must assume in our common fight. The Atlantic community cannot be built on the prosperity of one and the misery of the others." These are strong words from such a friendly source, and even though they are not official words they represent an opinion that must be heeded in Ottawa.

But the main issue, and the main source of anxiety, is of course Germany. The United States may be able to still the fears of the smaller powers over the inclusion of Greece and Turkey in the alliance, but the inclusion of a rearmed Germany, though officially accepted by the Big Three and acquiesced in by everybody else, remains a huge and undigestible monster—even to many of the democratic elements in Germany itself. The governments know the actual hazards involved; they know, too, what political difficulties it will create in their own countries.

An armed and sovereign German state, no matter how many guaranties are established, will be in a position to bargain effectively with East and West. To rebuild Germany's military strength will draw off much-needed materials from the Western nations, whose rearmament programs are only beginning to get under way. If the Gemans accept the terms that are offered them and start rearming in earnest, as must now be assumed, the competition for supplies will be as great and as dangerous as the French fear. Our readers will perhaps recall an article by our Washington correspondent "Scrutineer" in *The Nation* of July 21, which revealed a "top secret" plan for restoring German military power submitted by Chancellor Adenauer but developed largely by two former generals—Hans Speidel and Adolf Heusinger. It provided for a German tactical air force of at least 2,000 planes with personnel of 40,000; armed forces of some 250,000 built up on the basis of army corps of two divisions, each division to comprise 12,000 men, rather than combat teams of 4,000 to 6,000 as the French had proposed; a future coastal-defense force of small craft; a staff "at corps level"; and the eventual reintroduction of conscription. This plan had not been accepted by the Western powers at the time we published it, but it was supposed to have been fully discussed by Allied officials in Germany and regarded as reasonable by the Administration in Washington. How closely it will be followed in practice we cannot say. But Americans should know what is already in the minds of those who are working out the plans for integrating Germany into the Western alliance, and why the fears of Europe have become a serious factor in the discussions at Ottawa.

In a short time the decisions of these days will begin to be translated into tools and men and administrative structures. A monstrous machine will be created. Then it will be too late to slow down the tempo or shift the direction of events. If the Big Three seriously mean that "the door is not closed to negotiations with the Soviet Union," surely this is the moment to "try again." One honest effort should be made to come to an agreement on Germany before its armed power is restored, before it is again equipped to call the turn in Europe. Only such an effort will provide the reassurance that the Declaration of the foreign ministers probably intended to convey.

After Japan—Germany

BY FREDERICK KUH

San Francisco, September 12

ON THE last day of the Japanese peace conference Andrei Gromyko met some three hundred newsmen. After the way they, and especially the camera men, had swarmed around him even when he visited the toilet, he could not gladly have invited them. It was not sociability that prompted him to call a press conference.

An American reporter asked him: "If you didn't come to San Francisco to sign the peace settlement, why did you come?"

Gromyko answered: "I came to state publicly the truth about the United States–British draft treaty for Japan and to present Soviet amendments to it. This has been done."

Not just while facing the rows of journalists but throughout the conference sessions Russia's delegate must have felt an impulse to button his coat more tightly against the freezing hostility surrounding him. However, he was peering beyond the fifty-two delegations seated there. He was looking across the Golden Gate and over the seas toward the restive peoples of Asia. He made clear that the Communists' ultimate response would not be delivered in San Francisco but far afield.

When he met the press he declined to comment on the United States–Japan security pact, although its importance—in the minds of many—overshadowed that of

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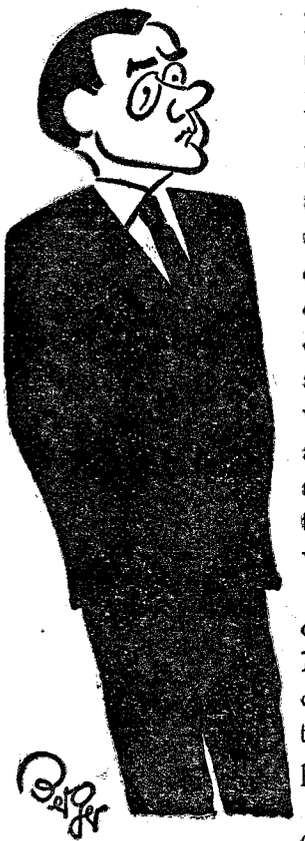
the treaty of peace. In fact, there was a widespread impression that the peace settlement was a façade for the American-Japanese alliance.

Gromyko mocked the preparing of the peace treaty "with participation of such states as El Salvador and Nicaragua but without China." Knowing that the suggestion would be rejected, he proposed even at one minute past twelve that Communist China be invited to attend this conference. He protested that the rigged rules of procedure for the conference clamped a strait-jacket on all debate. He pointed to India's and Burma's boycott of the whole San Francisco performance. Above all, he warned again and again against a treaty that lets Japan rearm without limit.



Andrei Gromyko

These were the things he came to say, and he said them. Members of the American delegation privately conceded that Gromyko had accomplished his mission.

Nevertheless, Russia's acceptance of the invitation and Gromyko's appearance at the conference were probably a Soviet blunder. He had little to say that Moscow had not said before. His only new suggestion was to state the numerical limits to which Russia wanted Japan's armed forces to be confined by the treaty: a maximum of 150,000 ground troops, a navy restricted to 25,000 men and 75,000 tons of warships, and an air force limited to 350 planes—with no bombers.

Gromyko's other ideas were familiar. Essentials of all the thirteen changes he proposed for the treaty were four months old. They were in the published note Russia sent to the United States on May 7. At best San Francisco gave him a chance to repeat them in a larger forum. It enabled him once more to proclaim the Soviet Union's solidarity with Asia's advancing nationalism and social revolution.

Against this, the presence in San Francisco of Russia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia caused delegates of the other forty-nine countries to close their ranks. It induced many of them to muffle their anxieties and grievances against the American-made Japanese settlement. Who could doubt that the dissatisfied nations would have resisted more strongly if they had not feared being identified with the Soviet opposition? To that extent Russia's appearance at the conference was an asset to the United States.

American diplomacy won at least a temporary success in Asia when Indonesia joined the treaty. Like India, Indonesia has been treading a neutral line between the United States and Russian camps. It objected to the treaty's failure to commit Japan to make amends for Indonesia's terrible war-time losses. Indonesia's plump, bearded Ahmad Subardjo told the conference that the Japanese invasion cost Indonesia four million lives and billions of dollars' damage.

Subardjo put three questions to Japan and made his nation's decision whether or not to sign the treaty depend on the Japanese answers: (1) Is Japan ready to pay Indonesia "adequate" reparations? (2) Does Japan agree that the reparations sum be fixed in a separate Indonesian-Japanese treaty? (3) Will Japan negotiate agreements to safeguard the fishing rights and seafood supply of the 80,000,000 Indonesians?

To all three questions Japan's Premier Yoshida replied "Yes," as prearranged by United States mediation with Pakistan's help. (Was this an advance payment for American backing of Pakistan against India in the Kashmir conflict?) In fact Japan agreed to do little more than talk things over with Indonesia. Yet Indonesia signed. The last word will be with Indonesia's Parliament when the Japanese peace settlement is submitted for ratification.

ANYHOW, the treaty bears the name of Indonesia along with other Asian states—Pakistan, Ceylon, the Philippines, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Japan. Several of these nations are wards of the great powers. Their adherence to the treaty falls far short of offsetting the absence of China, India, and Burma. However, their inclusion and that of Australia and New Zealand roughly delineates the foothold which the West retains against the Communist bloc in Asia and in the western Pacific. The firmness of that foothold is problematical. In several of these countries, notably in India, existing social and economic conditions are comparable with those which swept the Communists into power in China.

A few of the delegates entered legal reservations against clauses in the treaty. A much larger number made it clear informally that their governments were swallowing certain treaty provisions very grudgingly. After the three Communist delegates, it was the Philippines' Carlos Romulo who inveighed most vehemently against the treaty. He uttered criticism which other delegates repressed out of deference to the United States. He refused to share the hopes of peace which others at the conference were attaching to the Japanese settlement. "It is straining credulity to believe," he said, "that Japan has been completely transformed from the ag-

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gressive, feudal, militarist police state which it has been for centuries into a thoroughgoing democracy." Romulo overreached himself. He is a gifted, moving speaker, and he made so strong a case against the treaty that his final acceptance of it seemed wholly inconsistent.

Romulo said that the great powers were benefiting by seizing Japan's overseas assets and by depriving Japan of various territories, while its payment of reparations was being severely restricted. His comment on this was a measure of Philippine bitterness against the peace terms: "While the treaty is one of forgiveness in respect of the smaller countries, it is plainly a punitive treaty in respect of the great powers." He agreed that Japan's resources are at present insufficient to make complete reparation for all the damage and suffering. But he described the nation's remarkable recovery. He marshaled facts to show the quick rise in national income, industrial output, trade, and capital investments. He demanded why, with Japan's economic vigor continually growing, its victims should renounce forever the compulsory payment of reparations. The peace settlement limits reparations to Japanese processing of raw materials supplied by a claimant state and to salvaging ships. Significantly, it leaves to Japan itself the decision whether it should render even those services.

What is the truth about reparations? Would it be unwise to exact them? It is held with a good deal of logic that their payment in Japanese goods, which is the only form, except services, they could take, would let Japan push its way into important markets and thus by the back door at last establish that celebrated co-prosperity sphere. Yet even without the compulsion of paying reparations Japan is already irresistibly returning to those markets.

There is a fundamental difference between extracting reparations from Japan in the future and the dismal experience of the twenties in trying to squeeze them out of Germany. German deliveries then went to Allied industrial nations, where they promoted unemployment and depression. Today the principal claimants to Japanese indemnities are agrarian countries with an insatiable need for the machinery and plant which Japan can supply. Yet everyone knows that the treaty bars reparations, except for chicken feed.

DISCONTENT with the peace terms was evident even in the remarks of Percy Spender of Australia and of New Zealand's Sir Carl Berendsen, who passed the loyalty test by sharply denouncing Russia. "We have yet to be satisfied," Spender said, "that freedom is now in full flower in Japan, that militarism has been eradicated, evils of huge monopolies destroyed, and the roots of the police state wholly torn from their soil."

The Arab states, Norway, and Holland all lodged varying reservations.

The Japanese Prime Minister's address at the conference was ill suited to dispel some of the delegates' doubts about the peace treaty's wisdom. Fifteen hours before signing the treaty Yoshida opened Japan's campaign to revise it. He told the conference that it was "with diffidence" that he mentioned points in the treaty from which Japan dissents. Then he asked for early return to Japan of the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands, now occupied and governed by the United States and including the American base at Okinawa. In much bolder language Yoshida challenged Russia's right to the Kuriles and South Sakhalin, which were pledged to the Soviet Union by Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill at Yalta.

It passed almost unnoticed that John Foster Dulles, on behalf of the United States, repudiated this Yalta arrangement and backed Japan's claim. Dulles blandly informed the conference, "There have been some private understandings between some Allied governments; but by these Japan was not bound, nor were other Allies bound."

When the six Japanese delegates slowly walked to the table, the last of the procession to sign the peace treaty, they were dressed in formal attire. All other delegates wore lounge suits. When I asked a Japanese journalist why his country's envoys appeared in morning coats with tails and striped trousers, he said, "It was to show Japan's modesty and sincerity." It was presumably part of the same diffidence which led Yoshida, on the eve of the signing ceremony, to launch Japan's crusade for revision of the treaty's territorial provisions.

Dean Acheson

One other passage in Yoshida's remarks deserves mention. "The role of China trade in Japanese economy, important as it is," he said, "has often been exaggerated." Here Yoshida was kotowing to forces in the American Congress which are insisting on complete embargo of trade with the Communist orbit. But the Japanese Premier at home will have to reckon not simply with ineffectual Communists but with Japan's powerful business community. Without coking coal and iron ore from China's mainland, Japan's steel industry must spend scarce dollars for these vital raw materials and pay a big surcharge

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for the long haul if it buys them from the United States. Further, Japan's export industries will hardly approve Yoshida's caprice in belittling the China market.

NOW, as to the separate American-Japanese military pact signed at San Francisco six hours after the general peace treaty:

A clause in the bilateral agreement commits Japan to refrain from concluding a similar pact with any other nation unless the United States consents. This provision has an interesting implication. Does it foretell an American plan to insert such a stipulation in the coming "contractual relationship" with the Bonn republic? Will the United States obtain a treaty right to veto West Germany's negotiation of a new Rapallo with Moscow or with East Germany?

Another passage in the two-nation pact provides that at the Japanese government's request American armed forces may aid Japan not merely to repel a foreign attack but also to suppress internal disturbances. This poses the question: Will it be for the Pentagon to decide whether, in a future emergency, United States troops shall intervene in Japanese strikes?

In contrast to the peace treaty, which is believed to have the support of a majority of the Japanese, there is impassioned Japanese antagonism against terms of the alliance with the United States. The pact gives the United States the right to station an American garrison in Japan and to bases there. It puts no limit on the size of our forces, nor does it fix the duration of their presence on Japanese soil.

India, which shunned the conference, is by no means alone in objecting to inclusion in the general peace treaty of a clause authorizing retention of foreign troops in Japan. Other states, particularly Asiatic countries with their deep anti-colonial emotions, resent being put in the position of underwriting America's garrison in Japan. For the peace settlement says to Japan, in effect, "We recognize your sovereignty, providing you let us place troops on your territory."

Attached to the bilateral pact is an exchange of notes between Acheson and Yoshida. In this correspondence Japan agrees to support United Nations forces engaged in the Far East. So in the Asian theater of a coming world war it will be Japan which supplies the mass of infantry to fight at the Allies' side against the Soviet Union and China.

In San Francisco the United States consummated its military alliance with Japan. It was the footnote to this which put events in historical focus: from San Francisco, Acheson and the British and French foreign ministers hurried by air to Washington, there to speed the rearming of our other new associate, Germany, at the opposite pole of the good old Axis.

Wage Controls Are No Bargain

BY SID LENS

ONE of the first acts of the French government when World War II broke out was to add eight hours to the work week without pay. Paying forty hours' pay for forty-eight hours of work was assumed to be the way to fight inflation. But the effect on the morale of French labor played no small part in the defeat of France.

We are not doing anything so crass in America today, but we are undoubtedly heading in that direction. To be sure, the Wage Stabilization Board is more liberal than was its war-time counterpart in permitting wage increases as prices go up and has been less inflexible in dealing with labor's leadership, including even John L. Lewis. It has not imposed a rigid "Little Steel" formula. Here and there it has yielded to pressure. General Wage Regulation II exempted John L. Lewis's coal miners from the freeze as of January 25, 1950. Another ruling granted productivity increases to Walter Reuther's automobile workers in excess of the 10 per cent formula. Several hundred thousand packing-house workers and some railroad employees have received more than the 12 per cent raises authorized. A few smaller unions have crowded the formulas and pushed through borderline increases.

But these are only superficial aspects of stabilization. After all, this is "peace time," and labor has not yet given a no-strike pledge; the board must tread warily. What is truly disturbing about our economic mobilizers is their basic philosophy. Essentially they have said to the American workingman: "Under no circumstances will we permit your standard of living to rise above what you enjoyed on January 25, 1950. What is more, every time one of your standards falls below that of the base date we feel it is a positive gain in the war against inflation." The more money they keep from the retail market the more they think they have reduced the

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"inflationary pressure." In practice, therefore, the effect of stabilization policy has been (1) that wages have lagged far behind prices; (2) that the lowest-paid workers—those on the brink of starvation—have been frozen to their poverty and their inequality; and (3) that only the stronger unions have been able partially to break through the limits set.

BY SOME fancy figuring Eric Johnston, back in February, came up with the statistic that prices had risen approximately 10 per cent since January 25, 1950. Wage increases up to that amount, therefore, were to be approved. But two errors of logic were immediately apparent in Johnston's formula. First, these increases were not made mandatory; they were merely permissive. In other words, although the dollar had already declined by 10 per cent, only those workers who belonged to unions strong enough to enforce the demand would receive a 10 per cent raise. The rest—about three-quarters of the working force—had to settle for much less or nothing.

Secondly, the formula did not take into account the lag in time between price and wage increases. Prices began to rise in June, July, and August, 1950; most wage increases came six or nine months later. All that time the workingman's actual pay was smaller. The aim of stabilization, as enunciated by Congress, was to keep prices and wages in line, but no retroactive wage increases were granted to compensate for the higher prices that had been in effect for some time.

Serious as were these defects, the percentage method of computing increases was even worse. Skilled carpenters who earned $2.75 an hour would be permitted a raise of 27½ cents, or $11 a week. Retail workers who earned 50 cents an hour—the retail industry is exempt from the minimum-wage law—would be permitted only 5 cents more, or $2 a week. The percentage method thus not only widened the gap between high-paid and low-paid workers but placed the low-paid in a position where they could not hope to improve their standard of living. The best they could do was to maintain their existing low standards: a $30-a-week wage could be boosted to $33, but it would still be worth no more than $30 in purchasing power. Wage stabilization has actually condemned 16,000,000 families earning less than $39 a week—one-quarter of the population—to semi-starvation, and 38,000,000 families earning less than $77 a week to a wage considered substandard by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Before stabilization, workers with substandard wages could win considerable increases by organizing. In hundreds of instances workers getting 50 cents an hour in 1947 are now earning $1.10 or $1.30 because of unionization. But today even joining a union can gain only a niggardly raise for the low-paid worker. Though the Wage Board recently agreed to relax the 10 per cent formula and make it 12, the percentage system keeps the low-paid permanently impoverished.

Eight months after the board was established, during which time it has issued sixteen general wage regulations, there is still no policy or regulation on substandard wages. This is the more remarkable in that the present board, unlike the War Labor Board, believes in codifying its underlying principles before starting to process cases. Presumably the problem of substandard wages is not yet important enough to deserve a regulation. Even the matter of inequities has not been taken up, although a ruling may be forthcoming soon.

Permitting percentage increases in both prices and wages appears fair on the surface but really benefits only one side. It is next to impossible, for instance, to police the thousands of retail outlets so as to prevent violations of ceilings, particularly when ceilings are computed by the present cumbersome method based on profits. Who knows whether the corner restaurant has cut its hamburger from four ounces to three? Who can detect and prosecute countless other deceptions—deterioration of quality, relabeling, and the like? The government, for all practical purposes, has no machinery for policing prices; consumers are too unorganized to do it and anyway do not understand how ceilings work.

But wages have an automatic policing mechanism: every employer is a policeman for the Wage Stabilization Board. Note the hypocrisy of the copper-mining companies in demurring to a 16-cent increase proposed by the federal mediation service on the ground that they were uncertain whether the Wage Stabilization Board would approve it or not! Thousands of stewards and individual workers have heard the argument from their foremen in the last eight months: "I'd like to give you a raise, but the government won't allow it." Moreover, the board's methods discourage even permissive wage increases. Under present stabilization policy, wages at best must lag many months behind prices.

An amendment to Wage Regulation VIII still permits a semi-annual review designed to bring wages in line with prices. Thus if prices go up 3 per cent in January, employees may receive a 3 per cent wage increase sometime around the end of August, seven and a half months later. The month-and-a-half delay is caused by the Bureau of Labor Statistics' practice of publishing its cost-of-living figures six to seven weeks late; January 15 figures, for example, come out about March 1. Workers fortunate enough to be covered by escalator clauses before January 25, 1951, may have their wages reviewed every three months, in which case they are only four and a half months behind the price spiral.

Labor suffers also from the deliberate confusion of "prices" with "cost of living." Prices may have gone up only 10 per cent, but that does not mean that the standard of living has gone down only 10 per cent.

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Increased taxes, deterioration in quality, unavailability of scarce items cut standards much more. Wage stabilization rudely brushes such considerations aside.

The government actually considers wage stabilization in lifeless, abstract economic terms. Inflation, it says, is caused by people having more money than there are goods available; therefore we must prevent workers from earning this surplus money. Since there will be a smaller amount of civilian goods available in the future than there was in January, 1950, we must lower the standard of living. Simple, logical—and thoroughly stupid.

A DYNAMIC wage-stabilization policy would plan for a redistribution of wealth—raising the standard of the lowest one-third of our population at the expense of the highest one-third. It would stringently suppress the black market and price violations. It would either curb profits or eliminate them entirely. It would refuse to be blackmailed by the machine-tool industry, the automobile industry, steel, and the like into granting price relief, or by industry generally into granting tax relief. Instead, it would use the threat of nationalization to force private enterprise to make some sacrifices in defending its system.

A dynamic wage-stabilization policy would make wage increases mandatory for the whole working class, not just permissive. Some union officials would probably oppose such a policy on the ground that unorganized workers might say, "Why join a union when we can get a raise through the government anyway?" But the experience of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Britain proves this does not happen. Even when increases are practically made mandatory for the whole working class, as they are in Denmark, or for sections of the working class, as in England, workers still join unions. They join in even greater numbers because they gain a certain class-consciousness and look to the unions to handle things other than wages—social security, housing, grievances, and so on.

A dynamic wage-stabilization policy, above all, would be aimed at boosting morale. Toward the end of World War II workers everywhere were chafing at the bit. Thousands of "quickie" strikes were called. Millions of men lost faith not only in government but in their own union leadership. Union meetings were sparsely attended. Had the war lasted another six months, there surely would have been some minor or major explosion; the powerful C. I. O. automobile workers were on the verge of tossing their no-strike pledge into the ash-can. War-time stabilization was a pathetic failure.

The Wage Stabilization Board today must divorce itself completely from the war-time approach. Instead of regarding itself as a continuation of the War Labor Board, it must express antagonism to the old board's philosophy. It must act according to humanitarian and social criteria rather than lifeless "economic principles." Otherwise it will defeat its own purpose and lay the groundwork for the same deterioration in morale that destroyed France back in 1940.

Louis Adamic, American

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

THE first time I saw him he was striding, with swift, long-legged steps, toward my desk at the rear of the ground floor of the old fortress-like structure which then housed the Los Angeles *Times*. A few days before, I had received a note from George Sterling, the San Francisco poet—the note is dated September 11, 1926—telling me to be sure to read a short story called "The Crusaders" by "a young chap who's in the pilot station office at San Pedro, name Adamic," and suggesting that Adamic might call.

My first impression was of an extremely proud, nervous, set-apart person—he seemed, somehow, to be "driven" and also to have a chip on his shoulder. But later that evening at Agazzoni's, a long-since-forgotten restaurant, that first impression quickly yielded to a second—of a young and immensely attractive Slovenian peasant with a magnificent sense of humor, direct, earthy, irresistible. In fact, I have no more persistent recollection than of Louis laughing, laughing until he cried, laughing with his whole body.

He was a myth-maker, a spinner of tales. Over the years I listened to endless oral versions of nearly every book he ever wrote. Somehow whenever he started to tell a story he could not stop, but had to tell it all, from first to last, almost as it would later appear in print. Although I heard the same story many times, I was never bored; it was impossible not to be interested in his own interest. I still recall, for example, his extraordinary excitement on discovering the story behind the "official" version of the dynamiting of the Los Angeles *Times*. I have known many writers, but never have I known one who was so completely at the mercy of the project-of-the-moment as Louis; a story would dominate his imagination like a nightmare, demanding to be told.

His understandings were poetic and intuitive; not reasoned or scientifically deduced. He did not construct

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arguments or sift evidence or build theories. He understood people better than he understood situations; of people his understanding was clairvoyant. Often he sensed a great deal more about situations than he could satisfactorily explain.

Curiously, he was well aware of what he was cut out to be; in fact, he had an abiding fear of being drawn into some other role, of being swept into currents of action and decision which would not only destroy his chance to be an artist but would destroy him, literally. "There were things in me," he wrote, "which I did not want to see killed or harmed. I wanted to get into America and at her as a writer on my terms. I didn't want the turbulent, superficial, temporary, non-essential America to get me altogether. . . . It was (as I now see it) my Carniolan peasant egoism, of course, that stood in the way of my thorough Americanization, in the current sense; but not that alone. There were things in contemporary America that just naturally went against the grain. . . . I wanted nothing to do with them except fight them if I ever got a chance." Or, as he said of Lonie Burton, the tragic hero of his first story, "The Crusaders," and in words that foreshadowed his own tragic death: "He is living proof to me (perhaps soon to be a dead one) that one cannot afford to plunge too far into the economic and social issues of American life. One is too apt to be caught in their ramifications, overwhelmed and crushed without beneficial results to anyone." I never knew a writer who so consciously, ruthlessly, and, on the whole, successfully guarded against precisely this danger of engulfment—that is, until the last few years of his life.

He was, of course, an extremely sensitive person: keenly aware of the tensions in any situation, sensitive to changing climates of opinion, and a complete prey to dominant emotions and concerns. He was more than concerned, of late years, about the state of the world; he was obsessed by it. He simply had no defense against the catastrophic "bad news" of our time. Also political tensions aggravated personal tensions, a case in point being his dual allegiance, in the finest sense of the term, to America and to Yugoslavia. Yet he was not a political person. I thought, as many of his friends thought, that it was unfortunate that he had been caught up in politics. It had come about not because he willed it but because of the role which he had been forced to play during World War II in rallying Yugoslav-American opinion behind Tito's partisan resistance. It was a fine role, but he should have returned to his story-telling once the war was over. But by then there was no returning; he was caught in the trap which he had always feared and in which he had always known he would eventually be caught, as Lonie Burton was caught.

Today an enormous interest exists in racial and ethnic minorities; but there was little interest as late as 1940. In his writings, lectures, correspondence, and his editorship of *Common Ground*—that valuable publication—Adamic created a new awareness of such issues. He did more to dramatize what might be called the "secondary consequences" of immigration than any American of his time. He also had unique insight into certain phases of American life. "I was caught up in this America," he wrote, "but, simultaneously, I was a bit apart. I wasn't a native . . . I could stand aside and watch things at the same time that, unknown to anyone else, I was mixed up in them." His best writing deals with what might be called "the American problem," notably such books as "Grandsons," "Laughing in the Jungle," portions of "My America," and "The Native's Return," which, of course, is really more about America than about his native land. "Dynamite," too, is an American social classic. Most of his best writing—for example, "Cradle of Life"—was autobiographical; it was all part of the record of the Americanization of Louis Adamic.

I HAD several long talks with him in Los Angeles last winter. He was terribly exhausted and, as usual, driving himself at a cruel pace. I was worried about him, as was my wife, who feared that he might kill himself. He was seeing only one or two of his old friends and had divided the day and night into three work shifts, one of which extended from midnight until dawn. But he seemed pleased with the book he was writing and, as always, recited long passages. He was greatly disturbed by the "witch-hunt" and bitterly disappointed that there was so little public opposition to it. He was also distressed and embittered by "the big fix," the corruption that seemed to be spreading through all levels of American life. There was much less laughter than usual, although there was some; he enjoyed reciting a passage from the new book in which he had ridiculed the witch-hunters.

Those who knew him well will, I trust, never forget or forgive those who slandered him when he was alive and persisted in their slanders when he was dead. To imply that this man was "un-American" in any sense whatever was an evil libel. Yet all the Los Angeles *Herald-Express* could find to say of him after his death was that the California Committee on Un-American Activities had listed him "forty-nine times" and had referred to him as "the notorious pro-Communist, pro-Soviet Louis Adamic." To read such a statement is to be forced to the reluctant conclusion that there are, indeed, two American traditions and that they cannot be reconciled. It is to realize, too, that an aspect of the America he loved is in grave danger, for fear breeds corruption and corruption is a form of death.

Louis Adamic was generous, honest, incorruptible; a fine brave person; a man who loved people; a man of immense good-will. An eager and enthusiastic immigrant, "bewitched and bewildered by America," he wanted to

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be Americanized but on his terms; he did not want to be forced to accept both American traditions. But in an effort to understand and serve the America he loved, he was destroyed by the forces of that "turbulent, superficial, temporary, non-essential America" which he had long ago resolved to fight if he ever got a chance. His Americanization was complete from the moment he realized—which must have been shortly before his death—that he had surrendered more of himself to America than he had ever intended to surrender. There was, in fact, nothing more to surrender; he could no longer be detached; the social and the personal tragedy were one. But he was exhausted, not defeated; and if he appeared to surrender too soon it was not because he lacked courage but because he felt betrayed. And so he was, in a time when Louis Budenz, as in this instance, sits in judgment on the living and the dead. But that older American tradition, which his life and work enriched so much, is not dead by any means, and his faith in it will be vindicated.

Why French Workers Vote Communist

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, September 11

RECENTLY François Mauriac wrote, with some irony, of the French intellectual's hankering for closer contact with the working class, and noted that all attempts to satisfy it were a failure, since the mind of the intellectual and that of the workingman were so different. This, up to a point, is true in all Western democracies, but perhaps the gulf between the working class and the rest of the nation is wider today in France than anywhere else.

It is too simple an explanation to say that the working class is predominantly Communist—five million people in France voted for the Communist Party last June—and that "it's their own fault if they put themselves beyond the pale." Less than a million of those who voted the party ticket can be considered active Communists; the other four million did so because they were discontented and wretched and only the Communist Party had voiced their protest against their "proletarian condition." By this is meant not only their material condition but that sense of personal humiliation so widespread in the French working class.

More than in most countries, the workingman in France has the feeling of being the underdog. And recently he has felt still more degraded by modern methods of ultra-mechanization and specialization in which the human being becomes the least valuable part of a machine. In addition, his personal relations with management are almost invariably hostile: the top dog treats the under dog rough, with the excuse that the latter is at heart a rebel if not an actual Communist.

A recent special issue of the left-wing Catholic review, *Esprit*, gives, if not a clear analysis, at least a staggering amount of documentary evidence on how working-class Frenchmen live and think. The picture that emerges is perhaps too gloomy, for the editors of *Esprit* say:

> It is quite true that there are in France some bright and clean workshops, where work is not harassing and where safety is fully assured. But there is no doubt that war and inflation and the indifference of the successive governments have greatly enlarged the truly wretched sector of the French proletariat. The contrast between the luxury in which part of the population lives and the shortage of living space, clothes, and food from which a large portion of our working class is suffering is constantly growing.

The French worker, *as a citizen*, is suffering from a sense of acute frustration today.

> His feeling of having been "diddled" in terms of wages cannot be separated from his fearful disappointment at the course of events after the Liberation had promised a happier future. Six years ago the French workers, like other classes, readily, perhaps too readily, identified their fate with that of the nation as a whole; they were eager to share in the common effort, in the common sacrifices, and looked forward to a great reconstruction plan and to a number of basic reforms. The memberships of the trade unions and the parties reached their maximum; nationalized industries and works committees were a novelty. But for the working class all these hopes and illusions were more quickly and ruthlessly destroyed than for other classes.

The strikes of 1947 and 1948, which were largely, and often stupidly, engineered by the Communists, opened up a new era of victimization of labor, and since then the employers, fully supported by the government, have had little difficulty in keeping the working class "in order." As *Esprit* puts it, the trade unions, weakened by divisions and a drop in membership, have since 1948 been obliged to concentrate on "retreat tactics." With all prospect of great reforms gone, they have had to devote their attention almost exclusively to wages. The three main trade-union groups have thus tended to compete in their efforts to achieve limited objectives.

An interesting point made by *Esprit* is that there is little truth in the popular view that a sharp line divides the trade unions in the "Communist" C. G. T. from

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those in the "anti-Communist" Socialist and Catholic federations, the F. O. and the C. F. T. C. For one thing, the C. G. T.—as one of its leaders, M. Benoit Frachon, has claimed—probably "includes more Socialists than the F. O. and more Catholics than the C. F. T. C.," and the economic trade-unionist tradition in the C. G. T. is often stronger than its political trade unionism. This was evidenced in the Paris transport strike of last February and March, when the C. G. T., to win economic advantages, was often more moderate than the others. *Esprit* held that this strike showed, for the first time since the 1947 split, a marked tendency toward unity of action, and it believes that unity is the only hope for the working class. Otherwise—the Gaullist program leaves no illusions on this score—the C. G. T., the most powerful of the federations, will be dissolved in the name of "anti-communism," and the others will then be gobbled up without difficulty.

ON THE extent to which the French working class is Communist, *Esprit* says:

> With working-class conditions what they are in France it is no use running down Russia to a French worker. The fact is that there is a "dictatorship of the proletariat" in Russia; and it is not its violence that upsets the French worker. Even if, after thirty years, many French workers are disillusioned with Russia, the tendency to look to the Soviet Union with a feeling of friendship and solidarity is an important aspect of French proletarian mentality. . . . It is a shocking fact, but still a fact, that the most active and go-ahead members of the working class are Communists.

I myself have heard French Communists make the extremely significant statement that if they were living in England they would vote Labor, but being in France how but Communist could they possibly vote? The remark is the most damning indictment of the French bourgeoisie and employer class—and of the French Socialists for that matter. It is not surprising that, in the circumstances, the C. G. T. should, as *Esprit* says, enjoy great prestige among "socially conscious" elements in the French working class, and that its dissolution would mean that the counter-revolution and the offensive against labor were in full swing. It should be noted, however, that when the C. G. T. lends itself to Communist political demonstrations in conjunction with the Communist Party, the response from the rank and file is often less than lukewarm.

The struggle of the French working class for higher wages during the last four years has not been successful on the whole. Though prices have risen constantly, some employers have treated the workers' demands with the greatest cynicism. *Esprit* cites the case of one firm which announced on the same bulletin board the wage increases and the increase in the price of canteen meals. Another factory, after raising wages 11 per cent, was immediately authorized by the government to raise its prices 15 per cent.

IT IS, of course, extremely difficult to generalize about the French workers' standard of living. Labor has its aristocracies in France as in other countries. The linotype operators, for example, with a six-hour day, get about $28 a week. The metal-workers, railwaymen, and miners, if not always well paid, constitute highly organized corporations with considerable professional pride. Among the *manoeuvres,* or unskilled workers, $10 to $12 is a common wage.

According to *Esprit,* human degradation is at its worst in the building trades, with their mobility and irregular employment. Here are few *militants* and little or no trade-union influence. A French workman, Robert Meilhac, describes the ugly conditions of work:

> I have lived in other working-class milieux—among metal workers, office employees, government officials; every one of these people had some personal interest, some hobby, some sport or gadget or bit of garden, of which he spoke with affection. I have never come across anything like that among builders. They seem interested in nothing; they seldom talk of their family or even their children. They are dirty and in rags; they seldom wash and shave once a week. Their brutalization is almost complete.

With wages as low as they are, a disturbing new phenomenon is to be observed in many French trades. A worker from Ivry, near Paris, writes:

> Workers have died for the forty-hour week; many are now only too anxious to do overtime. In Paris as in the provinces one often finds workers doing, and even looking for, a sixty- or seventy-two-hour week. At Bigny in the Cher is a factory where, with Italian labor competing, people work eighty hours a week.

The story told by a woman worker in a sugar refinery is as bad as any nightmarish account of industrial conditions in Victorian Britain to be found in Marx. (Ignorance of the better working conditions now prevailing in Britain and the Scandinavian countries is complete in France. Hence the tendency always to compare conditions in France with those in Russia.) The acute physical discomfort of workers in the sugar refinery is combined with mental depression, lack of interest in their fellow-workers, and a feeling of revolt against the "free men," the bosses. *Esprit* admits, though, that some effort has been made to overcome the profound aversion of workers in highly mechanized industries by giving them a "technological understanding" of the industrial process of which they form a part.

Living conditions depend not only on wages but on many accidental causes; some workers have a house and

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garden; others live in slums; others have to pay a large part of their wages for a bug-infested hotel room. A teacher from Aubervilliers in the "red belt" of Paris wrote of his pupils:

> These proletarian children are not confined to Aubervilliers; in Paris, too, you find purely proletarian schools. You recognize the children by their dirty patched or torn clothes, their sickly undernourished look, their coarseness, and their indifference to anything that isn't part of their own life. . . . They are all threatened by tuberculosis; 50 per cent of my pupils live in appalling conditions, with five people to a room in a state of bitter promiscuity. I am not speaking of extreme cases where one finds as many as twelve people to a room. School, to these children, is a heaven-sent escape, but after a few years they have to think of the future.

I recently saw some statistics showing that only 2 per cent of university undergraduates come from working-class families.

It should be stressed—and it is one of the major achievements of the Republic—that French family allowances are relatively generous. A couple with one child gets only $8 a month, but one with two children gets about $30, with three $48, and with four $70. *Esprit* urges more direct aid to children, such as is provided in Britain—free milk at school, free clothes, and so on.

The exploitation of female labor is often very bad in France; I know, for example, a woman of fifty-five, a highly skilled milliner in one of the most famous *haute couture* firms in Paris, who earns $10 a week, less than the price of one "simple little hat" made by her employer. She can make two or three such hats a day, and has been with the same firm for the last twenty years! Women answering "situation vacant" ads are often treated in an insulting way, and if they show any sign of being familiar with labor laws their chances of getting the job are greatly reduced. *Esprit* cites several such cases.

Particularly unhappy are the old people. Their old-age pension amounts to 33 cents a day, or about $150 a year. If they have no family to support them, they either become beggars or go into institutions.

Perhaps the most important fact brought out by the *Esprit* documents is that the French working class feels deliberately isolated from the rest of the nation and is on the defensive. It was too ebullient after the Liberation, and dreamed about a New Deal; now it is struggling to preserve what little it still has in the way of rights and privileges—the family allowances and social insurance which make up to some extent for its economic defeats. One metal-worker wrote that since 1946 he had lost some $400 through taking part in strikes and was no better off than before. Above all, perhaps, their lives are uninteresting; their work is uninspiring; much less than the British worker, have they any political or social ideal to look forward to. Sport provides some escape—the sports paper, *Equipe,* is more widely read in some working-class districts than *l'Humanité*—and so do the cinema, the radio, and prosaic love affairs. Beneath the discontent flickers a revolutionary temper, fanned by a far-off memory of heroic days and by bitterness against those who drive about in grand new cars and eat expensive meals.

The French bourgeoisie, subsidized by Washington but frightened at the same time, is proving itself as wicked and shortsighted as ever.

Round Two on the Pechan Bill

BY SCOTT KEYES

Philadelphia, September 13

WHEN Senator Albert R. Pechan, Ford City dentist and state legislative chairman for the American Legion, introduced the Legion's loyalty-oath bill in the Pennsylvania Legislature last January, he probably had no intimation that his action might cause him sleepless nights. After all, he later told reporters, "I don't know why anyone should object to an oath of loyalty. I get a thrill when I take my oath." As he was to find out, however, substantial numbers of Pennsylvanians do not share his conviction that loyalty can be secured by compulsory oath under threat of dismissal. Perhaps even more to his surprise, the Legislature, in its longest session in recent times, reserved judgment.

Few observers would care to predict at the moment what the outcome will be. But the story of the fight that raged around the Pechan bill throughout the spring and summer is one that needs to be told.

First, a word as to the bill itself and its setting. Briefly, it is one of a group of bills said to compose a "loyalty program"—related proposals calling for registration of subversives, capital punishment for sabotage, outlawing of the Communist Party, investigation of the state's educational institutions, and the like. The battle line has been drawn on the loyalty-oath bill.

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Under the terms of the bill as amended to July 31, new appointees and present employees of the state and its political subdivisions, and also candidates for public office, would be required to submit written "answers to such inquiries as may be material" and to sign oaths of the "I am not now and never will be" kind, subject to penalties for perjury. All appointing authorities up and down the line would be empowered to investigate their employees "upon complaint" or on their own initiative. Those investigated would be in for a rough time. They would be immediately suspended not only on proof of their disloyalty but even if "on all the evidence . . . reasonable doubt" existed concerning their loyalty. Evidence need not be limited to the rules prevailing in the courts. For example, membership in or sympathetic association with an organization on the United States Attorney General's list could be ground for dismissal. And in the hearing to which the employee would be entitled, evidence could be withheld at the discretion of the appointing authority. Colleges would be exempt, but a condition of state aid would be annual reports satisfying the Governor and the Legislature that their faculties contained no subversives.

Small wonder that John O. Honnold, Jr., associate professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania, wrote recently that "in major design and intent, it is not a loyalty-oath bill but a loyalty-*inquisition* bill, with penalties imposed on the basis of suspicion and doubt rather than proof. . . . It is a terrifying commentary on our times that such a measure could ever be given serious consideration in our Commonwealth."

FOR several weeks after the bill was introduced, few people believed it could be stopped, or even slowed down. The opposition was meager—the Progressive Party, the Teachers Union of Philadelphia (U. P. W.), the Penn State local of the Federation of Teachers (A. F. of L.), later the Quakers, the Philadelphia *Tribune* and *Afro-American,* finally Philadelphia's Citizens' Council on Democratic Rights (now a chapter of the Civil Liberties Union). Perhaps the most effective campaign against the bill was that of the Teachers Union of Philadelphia, which sought to distribute copies of the text and knowledge of its implications as widely as possible.

Pressing for action, Pechan charged that "Communists, pinks, and fellow-travelers" were ganging up to defeat his bill. The Senate responded by pushing the measure through toward the end of March with no public hearings and with only minor amendents, the vote being forty-two to seven. Press reports indicated that several Senators had confessed they were personally opposed to the bill but afraid to vote against it.

The avidity of the bill's backers, however, proved to be their undoing. The effect of the Senate's action was to galvanize the growing opposition and to call forth a storm of protest, centering on demands for hearings in the House. Faculty and students on a dozen campuses across the state were up in arms; the Pennsylvania State Education Association, numbering some 60,000 teachers, began to question the bill; widely circulated newspapers like the Philadelphia *Inquirer* and the *Evening Bulletin,* which ultimately was to run at least six editorials against the bill, came out for hearings. In Philadelphia a thousand people attended a protest rally sponsored by local civic, labor, and religious groups. Citizens from all walks of life spoke out: former United States Senator George Wharton Pepper; former United States Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts; Alfred H. Williams, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia; Walter Biddle Saul, president of the Philadelphia Board of Education; Chancellor Rufus H. Fitzgerald of Pittsburgh University; Pittsburgh's Charles F. C. Arensberg, president of the Pennsylvania Bar Association; Earl G. Harrison, former Commissioner of Immigration, and others.

Faced by this undeniable volume of public sentiment, Ivan C. Watkins, chairman of the House State Government Committee, could hardly be convinced by Pechan's claim that the demands for public hearings were fostered by Communists "who only want to put on a show and start a riot if they can." Something had to give and it was Pechan, who yielded slightly by arranging with Watkins's permission a special closed hearing for the end of April, to be attended by representatives of the leading veterans' organizations, the heads of the four largest educational institutions, and, at the request of the Quakers, Clarence Pickett, former executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee.

A fortnight later the amended version of the bill was reported to the floor of the House for printing and a trial run. But by now the objectors were in full voice. Attacked as an even more radical and vicious assault upon basic freedoms than it had been before, the bill went back to committee, where, it was generally felt, no further action would be taken. Round one had gone to the opposition.

IN MIDSUMMER Governor John S. Fine, who had been noncommittal, suddenly threw his weight behind the bill. What considerations led to his decision is a matter of speculation. The facts are that in a strongly worded speech to the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Philadelphia he called for a "loyalty program," including the Pechan bill. This speech was followed in short order by others, to the Amvets in Harrisburg and the American Legion in Pittsburgh; at a press conference in Pittsburgh the Governor said the bill should be reported out of committee. (It should be noted that

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two days later, while the Legion was still in convention, the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* courageously called for defeat of the bill.)

This turn of events obviously put the committee on the spot. Observers doubt that Chairman Watkins was anxious to go against the Governor's wishes, but he, more than anyone else, knew the extent of the opposition. His out was to move for public hearings.

When the hour finally arrived—August 14, at 10 a.m. —the new House caucus room in the Capitol in Harrisburg was jammed, not, as the committee soon learned, with friends of the bill, but with its opponents. In an effort to hear as many witnesses as possible, the committee limited representatives of organizations to five minutes, individuals to three. Even so, less than half the speakers requesting time for more than forty statewide and local organizations opposing the bill could be heard. Among the supporters of the bill were six speakers for veterans' organizations, one for the D. A. R., two judges (one of them, Michael Musmanno, scheduled to become a justice of the state Supreme Court in January), and the state's Deputy Attorney General.

There the matter stands. At present the legislature is recessed. What will happen when it meets is anyone's guess. One bad omen, perhaps, is the speed with which Judge Musmanno's bill to outlaw the Communist Party shot through the House last month. Introduced on August 6, it was passed on August 22 by a vote of 145 to 8, in spite of serious questions as to its constitutionality and practicability raised by Deputy Attorney General Kunzig. Nevertheless, both the Majority and the Minority Leader in the House are against Pechan's bill; the legislature is anxious to adjourn; and, the Governor's pressure notwithstanding, it may well be that a substantial number of members would prefer not to be recorded on the bill one way or the other. They are reluctant to buck the veterans' organizations, but neither do they want to flout the opposition. After all, as even Senator Pechan should know, in Philadelphia nearly everybody reads the *Bulletin*.

Father Dunne: A Study in Faith

BY JOSEPH STOCKER

Phoenix, Arizona

IT WAS to be anticipated that someone would strike out in defense of the Roman Catholic church against the onslaught delivered by Paul Blanshard in his widely read book, "American Freedom and Catholic Power," now followed by his "Communism, Democracy, and Catholic Power," expounding the parallelism between the two great totalitarian structures. But nobody could have foreseen the quality of sublime paradox which characterized the defense. For a man who had himself suffered at the hands of the church came forward as its foremost defender in the Blanshard controversy—voluntarily and inspired by a massive faith. This man was Father George H. Dunne, a forty-five-year-old Jesuit priest attached to the parish of St. Francis Xavier in Phoenix, Arizona—an unassuming, highly articulate cleric with a passion for golf, Mozart, and social justice.

When Blanshard's first articles appeared in *The Nation,* Dunne replied with an article in the Catholic lay magazine the *Commonweal.* When Blanshard expanded his thesis into a book, Dunne fired back with seven more articles in another Catholic magazine, *America.* These articles were then distilled into a pamphlet, "Religion and American Democracy." Later Father Dunne and Blanshard confronted each other in a debate before the Harvard Law School Forum. After that Dunne carried the fight against Blanshard along a lecture circuit through the West.

In the course of his turbulent ecclesiastical career Dunne has been penalized twice by his church for his forthright championship of liberal causes. In 1945 he was dismissed from the faculty of St. Louis University because he fought for the complete integration of Negroes into university life. In 1947 he was booted off the faculty of Loyola University in Los Angeles for siding with the striking Conference of Studio Unions against the Hollywood overlords. Yet he is still carrying the banner of the church in its struggle against its detractors and doing so with unfaltering sincerity. All who know Dunne accept at face value his assurance that no order came down from on high for him to enter the lists against Blanshard. Far from being given such an order, he says, he has yet to receive a single commendation for his efforts from his superiors. Nor has his own Jesuit province invited him to speak on the subject at one of its schools or colleges.

"It's a matter of faith," he explains. "Either I believe in the things that the church stands for or I don't.

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If not, there's no sense in remaining a Catholic. If I do believe in these things, they don't cease to be true because of the action of the Catholic hierarchy." Among the most important of "these things," in Dunne's view, are the principles for which he fought at St. Louis and Los Angeles—the rights of minorities and labor. Before the outbreak of the Blanshard controversy Dunne was renowned in Catholic circles chiefly for his unflagging defense of those rights. He had achieved particular note by writing a play called "Trial by Fire," a stirring preachment against the "sin of segregation."

DUNNE was born in St. Louis, the son of a hotel man and the fourth in a family of five children. His father died when he was seven and his mother took the children to Los Angeles, where she went to work as a school teacher to support them. Dunne aspired at first to be a lawyer. He was twenty-one years old and six months short of winning his degree when he changed his mind and entered the priesthood. There ensued a long period of training which included four years of study in China. After he obtained his doctorate in international relations at the University of Chicago, Dunne was assigned to St. Louis University, a Jesuit school, to teach American and Soviet government. There his first brush with the hierarchy occurred.

Negroes had already been admitted to the university, largely through the efforts of a fellow-priest, Father Claude H. Heithaus, who taught archaeology and was moderator of the university newspaper. When Dunne arrived, there were about eighty Negroes in the student body, and they had won complete acceptance from the white students, both in classrooms and in extra-curricular activities. They had even attended a university dance without incident. Suddenly, however, the picture changed. A post-Lenten dance at the Jefferson Hotel was scheduled. Prominent townspeople brought pressure upon the president of the university to ban Negroes from the dance, and he yielded. Heithaus and Dunne gave battle, the former refusing to allow any publicity about the dance in the university newspaper, the latter going out of his way to discuss the issue in his classes. The upshot was the summary ouster of both priests. Heithaus was transferred to St. Mary's. Dunne was sent first to Santa Barbara, then to Los Angeles and Loyola University.

At Santa Barbara, Dunne wrote an article entitled The Sin of Segregation for the *Commonweal*. It was picked up by the Chicago *Sun*, the Des Moines *Register*, and other newspapers, and more reprints of it were sold by the *Commonweal* than of any other article it had ever published. The piece was a powerful polemic against Jim Crowism in all its forms. Segregation is a sin against both justice and charity, Dunne declared, and quoted the Pope to prove the point.

Later, in Los Angeles, Dunne attended a meeting of the Catholic Interracial Council at which a former Los Angeles *Daily News* columnist, Ted Le Berthon, made a report on a tragic incident near Fontana, California. A Negro, his wife, and their two children had been burned to death in a fiery explosion which destroyed their home. The Negro, O'Day Short, had resisted attempts to force him out of the rural neighborhood in which he had settled to escape Los Angeles segregation. There was good reason to believe the fire was the work of white vigilantes, but the authorities hushed up the case.

Father Dunne

Dunne, shocked and furious, went home and wrote two articles on the incident for the *Commonweal*. But he wasn't satisfied. He needed a medium with a stronger impact to get his message over. And so he hammered out his play, "Trial by Fire," the story, in drama form, of the Shorts. Many of the lines came straight from the records of the coroner's inquest.

"Trial by Fire" was given its first production by the Catholic Theater Guild of Los Angeles. The night before it opened, California's ace red-baiter, Senator Jack Tenney, called Dunne on the telephone to tell him he was making "a big mistake." He probably meant well, Tenney said, but he was being a "tool of the Communists." Besides, the Short case was an "accident." The play ran for a week in Los Angeles, was produced by the Blackfriars in New York, ran for a month at the Pasadena Playhouse and for two months in Chicago. Now and again it is performed by amateur groups around the country. Its audiences are often left with an overpowering sense of personal guilt. In Los Angeles the play was seen by a woman who had been circulating a restrictive covenant in her neighborhood. The next day she went out and campaigned against her own covenant.

Continuing his efforts in behalf of the under dog, Dunne spoke often in public, plugging for the FEPC and striking hard at an incipient resurgence of the Klan in Southern California. Then, when the Hollywood strike began, he examined the issues, decided the strikers were in the right, and waded into the fray. He spoke for the strikers on the radio and inveighed against the mass trial of picketers. He accused the producers of staging a lockout. He flew to Washington to seek the intervention of A. F. of L. leaders. A Congressional investigation of the dispute then in the making was

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proaching it as a Communist issue, and a move was afoot to bring the Un-American Activities Committee into the picture. Dunne dissuaded the Congressmen from turning their inquiry into a witch-hunt, and the group that finally went to Hollywood was a subcommittee of the House Committee on Labor and Education. Once the investigation was under way, the priest mounted the witness stand and excoriated the studio moguls.

Shortly after his appearance before the House subcommittee, he was transferred from Los Angeles at a week's notice and sent first to Santa Cruz, then to Phoenix. He had been removed from an area of maximum opportunity—Southern California, with its sprawling millions and its racial and economic tensions—and left with only parish duties, but he had not been silenced. From Phoenix he produced another pamphlet pungently summarizing the case for the Hollywood strikers.

Dunne believes that it is he who represents "authentic Catholic thought" and not the members of the hierarchy who have buffeted him around. To his way of thinking they represent "various social pressures." He dismisses them as "ministers of mediocrity who consistently sacrifice truth and justice to expediency." He has been accused by his superiors of being "imprudent" in his crusades. "What do they mean by 'imprudence'?" he asks, and replies, "They mean anything that steps on the toes of someone who is important." His faith, however, remains unyielding. By way of analogy he says: "If I'm firmly convinced of the truth of democracy in our political order, I don't lose faith because there may be people in office like Senator McCarthy who stand for things totally undemocratic. It's the same with the church. I don't lose faith—I stay in and remain faithful to the true principles of the church. To me one of the chief missions of the church is to witness to truth and charity, regardless of whose toes are stepped on. Every time that principle is betrayed, the church is betrayed."

WHILE conceding that Blanshard is a man of "sincerity and moral idealism," Dunne contends that he is motivated by prejudice and that the general effect of his attack on the church is to foment prejudice. Dunne agrees that the church "needs constructive criticism," but he believes that Blanshard's criticism is "neither constructive nor fair." "Whatever experience he's had has convinced him that the Catholic church is evil and dangerous," says Dunne, "and he interprets everything he sees in that light."

In the pamphlet containing his formal reply to Blanshard he acknowledged some "just criticisms and truths" in Blanshard's attack but found them so "hopelessly compromised by the prejudice of the whole" as to "vitiate" the book completely. "What is difficult to understand," he wrote, "is that otherwise intelligent and discerning people (a Norman Thomas, for example—*cf. The Nation,* May 14, 1949) are blind to a prejudice in Blanshard which they would detect immediately if it were anti-Semitic instead of anti-Catholic."

Dunne protests that Blanshard has employed a McCarthy-like technique of scatter-shooting accusations in such quantity that it would take "several volumes" to refute them. A few of the basic differences between the two antagonists might be paraphrased as follows:

Blanshard: The church is a wholly undemocratic pyramid of power, with the Pope and the hierarchy at the top and 26,000,000 American Catholics at the bottom, having no voice in the selection of those over them.

Dunne: This confuses the moral order with the political order. In the Catholic view the state is a natural institution, intended for the creation of the temporal conditions of life. The church, on the other hand, is a divine institution whose end is to teach man the dogmatic and moral truths found in divine revelation. The democratic organization of society does not mean that the church should have a democratic organization.

Blanshard: The hierarchy uses coercion to impose the concept of separate schooling.

Dunne: The average Catholic sends his children to parochial schools because he is satisfied with the caliber of their education and is convinced they have certain important values not found in the public schools. Implicit in Blanshard's thesis is the argument that unity can be achieved only by destroying diversity. This unity, however, is the unity of the slave state.

Blanshard: The priests lay down an inflexible formula for some of the most important moral problems in American life, such as marriage, divorce, and abortion.

Dunne: If a Catholic is convinced that the position of the Catholic church does not represent the teaching of Almighty God, he is perfectly free to differ from the church. At this point he ceases, quite simply, to be a Catholic. Is Blanshard asking the Catholic to abdicate the right to have opinions on moral problems?

Blanshard: The church opposes in principle the separation of church and state.

Dunne: Not true. The church accepts separation in the American sense of the word. It does not accept the notion of separation that was peculiar to Continental liberalism of the nineteenth century—a form of absolutism, with a secularized state attempting to make religion irrelevant in all areas of life. The church does not accept a separation of church and state which would deny to the church the right, through democratic processes, to bring to bear upon society its moral concepts.

Dunne finally dismisses Blanshard's whole indictment of the church in these words: "There may have been a job to do, but Blanshard didn't do it. And he made it a little harder for someone else to do."

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Dunne entertains no doubt that the church will survive the challenge of Blanshard. He is equally certain that it will also survive its betrayals by such "ministers of mediocrity" as those who have disciplined him. He likes to tell of a conversation he had with another priest at Evansville, Indiana, during one of his anti-Blanshard lecture tours. The two clerics were discussing the failings of various bishops and other church dignitaries. Dunne's friend said: "After all, when you come to think of it, it's very funny—we poor human beings trying to run a divine institution. It's a wonder it didn't blow up a long time ago."

That, says Father George Dunne, is the way he feels.

SCIENCE NOTEBOOK

BY LEONARD ENGEL

SIXTEEN thousand chemists are a lot of chemists, especially when they crowd from all over the world into seven or eight hotels. Nevertheless, at the recent congress of the American Chemical Society and the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry in New York, the conversation turned on chemists who were not there. A number of the world's outstanding chemical researchers could not attend on account of the McCarran act.

The McCarran act is making the United States almost as tough to get into as Russia. Visitors are required to answer a long questionnaire detailing all organizations to which they have ever belonged. If any can be considered fascist or Communist, the visa application must be forwarded to the State Department in Washington for decision. Since Europe's political center of gravity is to the left of the United States, many Europeans belong or once belonged to organizations that fearful American consuls would regard with suspicion. As a result thousands of visa applications have piled up in Washington.

No one knows how many chemists from abroad who expected to attend the congress failed to receive visas or failed to receive them in time. One can be sure only of those who were official delegates of national branches of the international union or who were invited to give addresses. I know of nearly a dozen altogether who did not make it.

One was an official French delegate, Marguerite Perey, discoverer of element 87, francium. Dr. Perey had once invited Irène Joliot-Curie, daughter of Madame Curie and wife of Frédéric Joliot-Curie, to the dedication of her laboratory. That made her too hot for the Paris consulate to handle. Another was L. Ruzicka of Switzerland, dean of the world's steroid chemists. Professor Ruzicka was suspect because more than a dozen years ago he was made an honorary member of an academy of science in an iron-curtain country. Dr. Ruzicka finally received a visa two or three days before the opening of the congress; he could have got there by jumping into a taxi and racing to the nearest airport. But he is an old man; he said the Swiss equivalent of "nuts" and stayed home. Others who failed to get visas were Dr. Francesco Giordano, head of the Italian delegation, and two of its members. Another was Dr. Michel Magat, the French physical chemist, who was to be chairman of a symposium at the congress. Still another was the English physical chemist E. A. Guggenheim; he told the London consulate he would rather stay home than submit to invasion of his privacy.

When scientists are prevented from meeting, there is usually loss on both sides. I do not suppose the loss to Europe in this case was very great. There were well over six hundred chemists from abroad at the congress, including several hundred young Europeans brought over by E. C. A. and the Ford Foundation. I hold that the McCarran act has caused us the greater loss, and need point to but one of those who could not come—Dr. Ruzicka. The Swiss chemist's field takes in sex hormones and cortisone. He holds the Nobel prize for his part in developing the first practical method of manufacturing sex hormones. He was the teacher of several of the chemists who recently devised new methods of making cortisone. Who will say that we have all the answers on hormones and have nothing to learn from Dr. Ruzicka?

One can only wonder what some of the delegates to the congress must have thought as they listened to President Truman's message, which was read by Dr. N. Howell Furman, president of the American Chemical Society. "It is a striking tribute to our democracy," Mr. Truman said, "that so great a number of scientists can assemble here free from suspicion of one another, and free from fear of outside interference." Many of those present, Mr. Truman went on to say, had seen at first hand "the perversion and destruction of free inquiry in other countries in recent years. . . . Clear and calm thinking is just as necessary on political and economic matters as it is in the chemical laboratory. Many of the ideas, social and scientific alike, which now seem axiomatic were once regarded as radical. Progress will come to an end if Americans are ever afraid to experiment boldly with new ideas." The Congress's opinion of the appropriateness of these remarks is not recorded, but in Denmark Dr. Steig Viebel, an official delegate of the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry, who was refused a visa although he offered to sign a pledge not to engage in any political activity in this country, was quoted as saying: "If America kept insisting on enforcing such strict exclusion laws, no more international meetings could be held in that country, and the United States would, in this respect, place itself in the same class with Russia."

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Essays and Asides

LOVE AND REASON

BY HELEN M. LYND

THE paradoxes which marked all the eminent Victorians appear in none more than in the Utilitarians, and among the Utilitarians in none more than in John Stuart Mill. This man, to whom Carlyle wrote after Mill had criticized his work, "No surgeon can touch sore places with a softer hand than you do," and of whom he said on Mill's death, "I never knew a finer, tenderer, more sensitive or modest soul among the sons of men," was described by Fitzjames Stephen as "cold as ice, a walking book." No criticism of Bentham has been more scathing than Mill's: that Bentham saw in man "little but what the vulgarest eye can see; recognized no diversities of character but such as he who runs may read." Affirmations of individual spontaneity in "On Liberty" and warnings against those who "by dint of not following their own nature, . . . have no nature to follow," were written by one whose own human capacities seemed to some of his associates "withered and starved." And this withering occurred while the whole adult life of this "perfect reasoning machine" of the Benthamite calculus was focused on a single love which can be compared only with that of the Brownings in Victorian romance.

What manner of person was Harriet Taylor, whom Mill first met when he was twenty-four—the wife of another man and then the mother of two children—to whom he maintained a single-minded devotion for the twenty years until her husband died and they were married and for the six years of their marriage until her death? Was she, as Jane Carlyle thought, "a peculiarly affected and empty body"? Or was there any basis for Mill's view of her as "the profoundest . . . thinker I have ever known," one who excelled himself, Carlyle, and "the highest" poets and philosophers, so that "if mankind continues to improve, their spiritual history for ages to come will be the progressive working out of her thoughts"?

The correspondence between Mill and Harriet Taylor, brought together and admirably edited by Professor Hayek* offers possible grounds for answering such questions as these. Harriet Taylor was an intelligent woman. She did contribute valuable suggestions from which Mill gained both critical insight and enlargement of scope. More striking, however, is Harriet Taylor's personality as it appears through these letters. If it was true of Lord Acton, as Figgis says, that he "was eminently a Victorian in his confidence that he was right," this was far more true of Harriet Taylor. Her central belief about the universe was that her view of it was right. She defined satisfaction for herself as "the *mind made up*, . . . having *conviction* of some sort on every large subject" (italics here and elsewhere in original); and this satisfaction in her own rightness never left her, even when swift changes of conviction occurred.

She was furious with her husband for saying, in response to her request for his judgment, that he thought it would be poor taste for Mill to dedicate his "Political Economy" to her; but she later wrote to W. J. Fox that the dedication had been withheld "at my special request . . . my reason being that opinions carry more weight with the authority of his name alone." Fox had been throughout a staunch friend to Mill and Mrs. Taylor, but one offense of his led her to brand him as one whose liberalism was only "a trade" and who was marked by "tame and stupid servility."

When John Taylor, at the beginning of what proved to be his last illness, suggested to Harriet that she postpone a European trip, she wrote: "I am very sorry to find you say that *you are sorry* I am going to Pau. . . . I do not do it for my pleasure, but only after the *most* anxious thought. . . . I am half killed by *intense* anxiety." Her husband's request more than three months later that she return to England because of his increasing ill-health met with the response: "If I only consulted my own inclination I should come back to England immediately . . . the reason I cannot do this is that I have arranged with Mr. Mill to meet me. . . . I wish you to know that nothing but a feeling of right would prevent my returning at once."

After another six weeks she did go back to England to find her husband dying of cancer, and she nursed him assiduously for the two months until his death. During this time she denounced Mill as vigorously for any intrusion on her attention as she had previously denounced her husband: ". . . you must be ignorant profoundly of all that *friendship* or *anxiety* means when you can use such . . . narrow hearted expressions. . . . It is the puerility of thought and feeling of any utterly headless and heartless pattern of proprietary old maid. . . . I feel it sacrilegious to enter into any account of what I feel and suffer." Her husband, she said, was more free from pain than most cancer sufferers because "no one . . . was ever so well nursed."

HARRIET TAYLOR always thought in terms of hierarchies, "high and low natures," "the noblest," "the most worthy," "the most virtuous," with herself—and Mill when he agreed with her—at the pinnacle. If she ever questioned his extravagant eulogies of her, there is no indication of it in the record. Secure in her own self-righteousness, she appraised the rest of the world from this eminence: of De Tocqueville she wrote that he was "weak in moral, narrow in intellect, timid, infinitely conceited & gossiping." In regard to letters from Sterling about which Mill had consulted her she said, "I should have thought that with our opinion we

*"John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor: Their Correspondence and Subsequent Marriage." By F. A. Hayek. The University of Chicago Press. $4.50.

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must thoroughly despise people who have not got out of that baby morality and intellect."

Harriet Taylor, and Mill too under her influence, talked much of "passion" as a desirable human trait in which they both excelled, but condemned "sensuality" as a "lower" trait of the "common" people. Harriet declared that "all men, with the exception of a few lofty minded, are sensualists more or less—women on the contrary are quite exempt from this trait"; and Mill said of Mrs. Taylor that "he had no other feelings towards her than he would have had towards an equally able man." *"Affection,"* says Harriet, "is . . . an instinct of the lower animals for their young." Her relation to her husband was the "sole obstacle" to her union with Mill; concern for her children is almost never mentioned. Two years before their marriage Mill wrote, quoting Harriet's attitude to her son: "[Herbert's] conduct on Xmas day & his not writing even to say that he is going to America . . . are only as you say to be explained by his being a very great fool (at present) & therefore influenced by some miserable petty vanities and irritabilities." Harriet wrote to her daughter five years after her marriage to Mill, "I would rather die than go through again your reproaches for spoiling your life."

Mill's ruthlessness toward his family after his marriage was apparently the result of his wife's feeling that they did not show enough deference toward her. To his brother who was dying of tuberculosis in India, Mill wrote: "I have long ceased to be surprised at any want of good sense or good manners from you—you appear to be too thoughtless or too ignorant to be capable of either—but such want of good feeling . . . as are shown in your letters to my wife . . . I was not prepared for."

The riddle of the absence of mention of Mill's mother and sisters in his "Autobiography" is solved. This omission has less to do with Mill's actual childhood than with the fact that the "Autobiography" was written under Harriet's influence.

John Stuart Mill was undoubtedly a person much more imaginative, sensitive, and subtle than either his father or Bentham. Why did a person as hard and insensitive as Harriet Taylor inspire in him such devotion? Mill said of his father: "I acquired a habit of leaving my responsibility as a moral agent to rest on my father . . . my conscience never speaking to me except by his voice" (quoted by A. W. Levi, *Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. 32, pp. 86-101). One may hazard the hypothesis that having grown up under the iron hand of his father, Mill, in spite of all his ambivalences toward his father that Levi has pointed out, could only love and accept reassurance from an equally dogmatic, authoritarian person. The fact that this dominance came to him in the guise of love and that some of the areas in which Harriet exercised her authority—poetry, painting, music—were different from those of his father made it seem that she was opening a new world to Mill; in contrast to his father's, her dogmatism was in the alleged interest of emotion. Mill failed to perceive the common element of arbitrary coldness. Her vocabulary of holy passion even blinded him to her inhuman callousness and the callousness she induced in him. His modesty led him to accept her unquestioning judgments with "the certainty that I never should long continue of an opinion different from yours on a subject which you have fully considered." His loneliness before he met Harriet, "the absence of that feeling which . . . one fellow-traveller . . . has towards another . . . of mutually cheering one another on," made him marvel at the experience of communication with another human being.

If Mill felt any ambivalence toward this new authority, it nowhere received direct verbal expression. But certain questions persist. Why did Mill's illness increase after his marriage? Why did he talk constantly of death in a few years, although he actually survived Harriet by fifteen years? Why, after waiting for more than twenty years to marry, did they spend so much time apart after their marriage; they both suffered from disease of the lungs which would seem to demand the same climate, but Harriet's search for health kept her in southern France while Mill's led him to journeys, one of six months' duration, to Italy and Greece? Why in the extravagant eulogy on her tombstone was this super-accurate man several times inaccurate in matters of date? And why did his praise of her have constantly to exceed all rational bounds in fantastic excess?

In a dream which Mill recounts as an amusing trifle in a letter to Harriet he thought that he returned to her and found that she "took a complete dislike" to him, saying that he had "changed much for the worse"; and he goes on to speak of the actual fact that often after even a short absence Harriet is "disappointed" in him. He reports with amusement that in another dream he used the words "an *innocent* magdalen," "not perceiving the contradiction."

"On Liberty" states the problem of personality and culture in a way we cannot ignore in any contemporary attempt to understand the conditions of individual freedom. Mill's "Autobiography" gives the most complete record we have of an education based solely on reason. This new volume, in relation to the others, offers incomparable material on the ways in which emotion is inextricably bound with reason and some of the outcomes of this union.

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Virgil Thomson as Critic

MUSIC RIGHT AND LEFT. By Virgil Thomson. Henry Holt and Company. $3.50.

CONSIDERING Virgil Thomson's latest collection of his *Herald Tribune* writing in and for itself one finds again examples of his marvelously accurate perception and formulation, such as the summation of Koussevitzky's career, or the comment on De Sabata's overplaying of a Morton Gould piece: "This composer's Spirituals for String Choir and Orchestra, overdressed as it is orchestrally and harmonically, has its own rhythmic life, supports no imposition of any merely theatrical animation. Itself all trickiness, the addition of jugglery from another school plain breaks it back."

One also finds again examples of his spinning of trains of thought about data made up in his head, such as the descriptions of Rubinstein's and Curzon's piano-playing, or the article "Tradition Today" which is about the conductors, dominantly exemplified for Thomson by Reiner and Monteux, who operate as the preservers of "the traditions of interpretation as these have been handed down," as against men like Stokowski and Koussevitzky who operate rather with "a highly personalized ability to hold attention"; about our own conductors of this second type who "have the excuse of having passed their youth out of contact with a major musical tradition, of not having known the classics early enough to feel at home with them"; and about one of them, Leonard Bernstein, who "knows what American music is all about, but the western European repertory he is obliged to improvise. . . . That is why, I think, he goes into such chorybantic ecstasies in front of it. He needs to mime, for himself and others, a conviction that he does not have. He does no such act before American works of his own time. He takes them naturally, reads them with authority." Thomson once made a similar statement to me about Toscanini—that whereas Toscanini had learned the operatic traditions in the opera house, he had found himself at the age of fifty having to deal with the symphonic repertory with no knowledge of *its* traditions, and had solved the problem by doing a complete streamlining job on it. Actually Toscanini began to conduct the symphonic repertory soon after beginning to conduct opera, and after learning about it until then as everyone does—by hearing it performed and studying the scores, and by hearing varied performances of Beethoven, Mozart, and Schubert grouped around ever-changing norms which did not represent a line of piously handed-down tradition going back to an authentic first source, because there had been no such source. These European performances were transferred to this country, and were what our own conductors, including Bernstein, learned the classical repertory from. Bernstein, as it happens, first studied conducting with Reiner—which is not why he plays Mozart with evident warmth of feeling and distinguished taste; and only last spring a violinist mentioned he had just come from recording a piece by Aaron Copland in which "Lennie did his usual dance act."

And one also finds again examples of this idea-spinning, and of Thomson's method of demonstration by *pointilliste* pronouncement, which do not make coherent understandable sense in their own terms—e. g. "The Intellectual Audience."

For Thomson the book is, in addition, the occasion for a retrospective glance over the ten years of his writing in the *Herald Tribune*; reviewers, therefore, have taken it as an occasion for an estimate of this writing; and I now propose to consider how it is that the man who has written such distinguished criticism has also written such irresponsible nonsense.

Thomson once stated his belief concerning the critic's function—that it was "to defend contemporary musical composition, not to attack it"; and more recently, that it was to "stick his neck out." Actually the critic is confronted not by contemporary musical composition but by individual contemporary pieces of music; and his function with them is not to defend contemporary musical composition but to look at the individual object placed before him and report faithfully what he finds in it. If he finds nothing in it of significance or value he must stick his neck out (and have his throat cut) with that finding; and I might add that when he does he is not attacking contemporary musical composition.

I have used the example of contemporary music to make clear my own idea of the critic's duty: to keep his eye strictly on the object—the piece of music, the performance, the book—before him, and not let it be deflected therefrom by anything, even so admirable an aim as defending creative originality. For it is my belief that Thomson has written his distinguished criticism when he has been able to keep his eye on the object, and that when he has written nonsense it is because his eye has been deflected from the object. I would say that in some instances it has been deflected by the fact that he was putting on a performance—which is to say that his eye has been partly on the effect he was making, and by that much less on the thing he was writing about. And in some instances it has been deflected by his fondness for schematization, which has made him not only indulge in remote-from-fact schematizations of his own but fall for those of other writers—among others Max Graf's of the critic as "interpreter of the artist to the public" versus the critic as "spokesman of the public against the artist" (the critic in reality being neither of these). The result in that instance was Thomson's failure to see what contemptible trash most of the material in Graf's book on criticism was; and that failure led to Thomson's performance with the recent volume of Hanslick's criticism.

Here, instead of keeping his eye on Hanslick's writing, Thomson let it be deflected by Graf's section on Hanslick—which is to say that he made his article largely out of material in that section, principally Graf's contention that Hanslick, who opposed Liszt, Berlioz, Wag-

A WAR

There set out, slowly, for a Different World,
At four, on winter mornings, different legs . . .
You can't break eggs without making an omelette—
That's what they tell the eggs.

RANDALL JARRELL

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ner, Bruckner, Verdi, Wolf, and Richard Strauss, did not really care for Brahms but "was clever enough to raise the banner of Brahms as the banner of counter-revolution" against the others. "Dear Mr. Pleasants," wrote Thomson in reply to the protesting editor and translator of the Hanslick volume, "I did not get all my thoughts about Hanslick out of Max Graf's excellent 'Composer and Critic,' which I quoted. I have read some others about the period." "Dear Mr. Thomson," Mr. Pleasants could have answered, "you should have got your thoughts about Hanslick's book, which you were supposedly reviewing, from the book. If you had, you would have noted that with Hanslick's praise of each new Brahms symphony there is criticism, and that both are perceptive, concerned with the things we perceive in the works—which is to say they are genuine, and provide evidence of as much genuineness in the attitude expressed in the articles as if these had been written by some one today. You might then have mentioned the accusation that the attitude was not genuine, adding that this might be established by other evidence (which you admit is not decisive) but was not supported by the articles. And if instead of copying Verdi's name from Graf you had read Hanslick's articles on the Requiem and 'Otello,' you would not have your mistaken thought about his opposition to Verdi."

But these defects and failures of Thomson which take so much space to document are those of a man who has given us some of the finest music criticism written anywhere. And—applying Tovey's observation about Schubert again—his occasional inequalities of performance cannot make that man a critic of less than the highest rank.

B. H. HAGGIN

Moscow's Role in China

CHINESE COMMUNISM AND THE RISE OF MAO. By Benjamin I. Schwartz. Harvard University Press. $4.

THE doctrine expounded by the men ruling China under the name of Communism today bears little resemblance to the theories developed by Marx and Engels and is indeed a far cry from the formulations of early Communist leaders in China. Likewise, the "Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung has been . . . neither 'the vanguard of the proletariat' in the Marxist-Leninist sense nor a 'peasant party' in the Marxist-Leninist sense, but an élite of professional revolutionaries which has risen to power by basing itself on the dynamic of peasant discontent." These are two of the well-documented conclusions in Benjamin I. Schwartz's "Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao," the latest study in a series sponsored by the Russian Research Center at Harvard.

Dealing almost exclusively with the theoretical aspects of Chinese Communism, Mr. Schwartz traces it from its early beginnings in the period of disillusionment at the end of the First World War until the emergence of Mao Tse-tung as undisputed leader of the party in 1932. He also emphasizes the important part the theoretical framework played in the relationship between the Chinese Communists and the Comintern headquarters in Moscow. He brings to light many new materials on Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao, the early leaders of the party; analyzes very carefully the intricacies of the period of collaboration with the Kuomintang (1923-1927); and shows how Mao's predecessors were made the scapegoats for the Comintern's own mistakes in order for the Kremlin to maintain an aura of infallibility. The subtleties of shifts in "the Line" are followed with great precision.

Mr. Schwartz has obviously done a long and careful job of research. He brings to bear upon his subject a knowledge of Russian as well as Chinese history, a thorough understanding of Communist doctrine and its subtle Stalinist perversions, and an ability to deal with source materials in the original languages. The result is that his book has many important contributions to make to our knowledge of the course of Communism in China. For example, his discussion of the role of the "Twenty-eight Bolsheviks," a group of Moscow-trained Chinese whom the Comintern tried to squeeze into leadership in China, treats a development too frequently glossed over by the standard works on Chinese Communism. His analysis of the various theoretical devices used by the Comintern to conceal the severance of Chinese Communism from a proletarian base is excellent. His painstaking study of the personalities with whom he is concerned enables him to portray the role of intra-party jealousies and rivalries and their relation to the party line with great skill.

"Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao" will do much to dispel the myth of the "Great Social Revolution," in the name of which so many of our so-called experts have unwittingly legitimatized the violent methods of the Chinese Communists. Mr. Schwartz points out that "while we are firmly convinced that the Communist movement in China has risen to power on the crest of a popular movement, this does not mean that the Communist leadership is, as it were, the mystic embodiment of the popular will, or that all its acts are the expression of the aspirations of the people. Within the Communist dispensation, in particular, there is every reason to suppose that basic historic decisions will be made by the political leaders and not by the surging masses." The book is likewise directed with great effectiveness against the orthodox Communist view that all the developments in China were accurately forecast and understood by the great Stalin.

Mr. Schwartz's book is unfortunately

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not an easy one to read. He is so close to his subject and knows it so well that he forgets his reader is probably unacquainted with the many names and events whose significance he does not explain. Many of the theoretical distinctions which he makes are understandable only to the reader well-versed in Communist dialectics and the history of the Communist movement. There are also occasional minor points on which the work might be questioned. For example, it is surprising in view of his imposing bibliography to find that Mr. Schwartz has not utilized the works of Hsiao San, an official biographer of Mao. Hsiao's article "Comrade Mao Tse-tung's First Period of Revolutionary Activity," published in 1945—with a "Note of Correction" in 1949—gives the official list of the thirteen delegates who attended the First Party Congress in 1921. Hsiao's list differs from that given by Schwartz, and this is a matter on which an official party historian would probably be extremely careful.

It is, of course, important to study the theoretical quarrels and heresies which develop within the Communist structure. Mr. Schwartz has purposely limited himself to such a frame of reference, and some of his conclusions must be viewed with this in mind. Emphasis on "shadowy theoretical differences" allows him to pass by many significant points which could have been made. Thus, although it is desirable to point to the differences between the Chinese Communist leadership, under Ch'en Tu-hsiu, and Maring, the Comintern representative, in 1922, and show them to be so deep that "Maring . . . invoked the authority of the Comintern and the Chinese Communist Party leaders were forced to submit to party discipline," the significant point is that the discipline invoked by the Comintern was effective. Likewise, throughout the book, Mr. Schwartz fails to note the real effectiveness of the Moscow control and its persistence. The fact that Moscow did retain the leadership, that Moscow set the example and had a power of attraction, that it was able to make scapegoats of Chinese leaders for its own mistakes, that it was able to dictate the line and make changes in it at will, that it could secure confessions and recantations from such leaders as Li Li-san and Chou En-lai, that it could expel important Communists from the party in order to maintain the façade of a monolithic structure, that it continued to train leaders in Russia for the Chinese Communist Party: these are points which would argue that Moscow did indeed have a planned strategy and a successful one, but that this strategy could be understood in the realm of political organization and political control rather than in the realm of doctrine.

In a similar manner, although we can agree with Mr. Schwartz's conclusion that "the political strategy of Mao Tse-tung was not planned in advance in Moscow, and even ran counter to tenets of orthodoxy which were still considered sacrosanct and inviolate in Moscow at the time when this strategy was first crystallized," this does not mean that Mao's techniques of organization and his acceptance of the blessing of the Kremlin were not part of an over-all strategy. The important fact is that Mao has accepted the Communist version of his success as the result of the masterful planning of Stalin. He told a meeting of Communists in Yenan in 1939, "It is a great event that mankind has Stalin. Since we have him, things can go well. . . . Had there been no Stalin, who would there be to give directions?" What is the power which can make Mao utter such words? How does it operate? Answers to such questions are not to be found in Mr. Schwartz's study.

RICHARD L. WALKER

Concerning Happiness

THE ANATOMY OF HAPPINESS. By Martin Gumpert. McGraw-Hill Book Company. $3.50.

"THE ANATOMY OF HAPPINESS" is a misleading title for this modest and engaging book. The reader is led to expect a clear structure and an organized argument. What he finds instead is a series of essays, classified, it is true, under such headings as Profile of Unhappiness, Landscape of Happiness, and so on, but the classification is not rigid, and the essays are not so much analyses as meditations. They happen to be the reflections of a practicing physician who happens also to be wise and in the best sense a man of the world.

The author admits that the reader of a "how to" book has the right to ask questions about "the person who pretends to know so much more about his problems than he himself does." He disarmingly tells us that "the author's only justification for writing this book seems to lie in the fact that he has had an ample share of unhappiness but has thus far survived with only a limited number of scars and injuries." He tells us in so many words that he has not solved all the problems and that he does not know all the answers. He tells more about himself. He is a practicing physician. He is, one knows from other sources, a specialist in the diseases of old age. He tells us that four years ago he had a heart attack and made a good recovery. He tells us he recently underwent quite an emotional upheaval, now over.

There is, indeed, a good deal about Dr. Gumpert in this book, chiefly on the ground that he recognizes in himself the same qualities and difficulties he finds in the patients that come to his office. He has come to believe that sick people are unhappy people and that a good physician must be among other things a diagnostician of unhappiness. Among his prescriptions must be one for happiness. Dr. Gumpert suggests one, "easily formulated but hard to fulfil." It has ten parts: "prevent physical suffering, prevent guilt, do not accept illusions, accept the reality of death, do what you like to do, keep learning, accept your limitations, be willing to pay for everything you get, be willing and able to love, avoid secrets." Most of the book is in essence an attempt to detail and document this prescription.

But what is happiness? Dr. Gumpert is not a stickler for exact definitions. Sometimes he says it is "a state of mind which is caused by the release of tensions"; again, "unhappiness is caused by the inadequate release of tensions." Sometimes he thinks it something as simple as "I am glad to be alive." Sometimes it is a harmonious functioning, again a long-term well-being and sense of well-being, plus. Dr. Gumpert knows that philosophers have argued about these matters for centuries, but he notes that human beings are still unhappy. It is now the job of the *doctor,* perhaps, to deal with happiness as a medical problem or as a socio-medical problem. Since sick people are unhappy

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people, part of their ills can be traced to private matters which they can control, and private intra-skin concerns. Some of their ills are social and economic, and the physician needs to understand these, too. Psychiatry can and does help, but Dr. Gumpert is rather airily dismissive of the "private languages" of the various schools of psychiatry, and rather trusts the wise physician who must try to heal the whole man, not something separate called his body or his soul.

A good deal that Dr. Gumpert says would, on the whole, meet with the approval of psychiatrists, and much of what he says would find support in a long tradition in philosophy from Aristotle's "Ethics" to John Dewey's "Human Nature and Conduct." Dr. Gumpert's book makes very little contribution to science or philosophy. It may not help to make many people happier. It does not say much that is new. But its point of view is sensible, sometimes to the point of banality, and its tone is reassuring. He reiterates faith in the possibility of a life worth living and felt to be worth living by all, or nearly all, mankind. He examines ruminatively some of the things from clothes to leisure, from love to artistic creation, that help people to be happy, the fears and illusions that help to make them unhappy. He makes some sensible therapeutic suggestions.

But this book is really not a "how to" book at all. It is a series of essays, almost more interesting for what they show about its author than for what they tell about the world or about human nature in general. The book is an autobiography in essence of a very wise family physician, whom any patient would be lucky to have. The physician looks back on what he has observed both in his patients and in himself, and the conclusions he has come to about what he may call total or moral health. He has observed that sometimes a whole country seems diseased and incapable of happiness: post-war Germany. Sometimes he has come upon a place that he sees happily arranged for happiness: Fort Wayne, Indiana, to which he devotes a chapter. The Chamber of Commerce of that town will certainly feel happier after reading this paean of praise to that Hoosier, as Dr. Gumpert tells it, near-heaven. There is also a chapter, a blow-by-blow account of one day in his life which, at the end of the day, when Dr. Gumpert sat down to write about it for this book, he could reasonably call happy.

Dr. Gumpert is clearly aware of all the sinister portents of our time. He has been through a good deal of its hell himself. But he comes up with faith in the future, and good reasons for such a faith. He exemplifies what modest happiness is possible for an honest and courageous man, even now. We are not invited to escape with the mystics, to despair with the existentialists. Dr. Gumpert suggests that we start with what we have and are, and go on from there with hope. He seems to have done it, and his example is possibly more tonic than his prescription.

IRWIN EDMAN

Paying for Defense

FINANCING DEFENSE. By Albert G. Hart and E. Cary Brown. Twentieth Century Fund. $2.

THIS is the second of four reports on the defense economy which are being prepared and issued under the auspices of the Twentieth Century Fund. The only thing seriously wrong with it is that it will probably not be read by the right people—particularly, members of Congress.

In only 161 pages, including the brief but sensible recommendations of a committee of four distinguished economists who have reviewed the study, the book presents a clear and simple analysis which covers all the politically possible proposals for financing the defense program, and a few others which have been seriously advanced even though they have little chance of adoption.

Some readers may feel that the authors have given too much weight to political possibilities as against ideal solutions. However, since the discussion is limited almost entirely to the budgetary problems of the next two or three years, there would not have been much point in considering proposals which could not conceivably be accepted by Congress. The gap between what is likely to happen and even a reasonably satisfactory fiscal policy is wide enough, without stretching it to include theoretical ideals.

The conclusions cannot be easily summarized, since they consist chiefly of comments on the merits and demerits of many different forms of taxation. On balance, Messrs. Hart and Brown are inclined to recommend that an increase in personal income taxes should be the principal source of the larger revenues which will be needed to balance the federal budget and combat inflation. Specifically, they recommend enactment now of a bill which would raise income taxes gradually over the next two years, to keep pace with the expected rise in military expenditures. They favor drastic economies in non-military spending, but do not expect that any very substantial amounts can be saved in that way.

The prognostication is rather pessimistic: they believe that the present flattening of the inflationary spiral is strictly temporary, and evidently do not have much hope that taxes will actually be raised enough to keep the national budget in balance and prevent still higher prices. With only slight reservations, they accept the orthodox view that prices must go up if money available for spending exceeds the volume of goods for sale at current prices. It could be that consumer resistance might be strong enough to prevent this for a time, even when people have a lot of money in their pockets. And there is just a chance that the nation may be able to expand production fast enough to meet military demands and still supply an abundance of consumer goods.

It would certainly be safer to follow the author's recommendations than to depend on any such tenuous hopes. As they say, it is much easier to reduce taxes quickly if that should prove desirable than to bring prices down after they have gone up.

CHARLES E. NOYES

Fall Book Number

- Reviews of the more important books of the season will be featured by THE NATION in its regular Fall Book Number to appear on Oct. 13.
- Publishers wishing to utilize the special advantages offered by this feature issue for advertising of better books are urged to make space reservations as soon as possible.
- For information on space reservations, copy deadline and rates, phone BArclay 7-1066, or write to

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Books in Brief

THE PAVILION. By Stark Young. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50. Stark Young's book "of people and times remembered, of stories and places" carries him from his boyhood in Como, Mississippi, through his college years at the state university and a year of graduate work at Columbia University. Early in his book he complains of having too little of "that culture which is a heightening of our sense of the antiphonal radiance existing in all things among themselves." Yet this gentle and brooding chronicle was written out of exactly this sense of things. No recognizable child or adolescent emerges from these pages; family, anecdotes, and places are all seen in an enduring twilight, yet suffused with an "antiphonal radiance" that gives the book an air of melancholy dignity. Mr. Young has a habit which will infuriate some readers and please others of implying, regularly, that most of the virtues to which he was bred are of the past; this ruined but gracious society of his youth "knew or must have taken for granted—I never remember hearing the matter spoken of—that such things as love, loyalty, generosity, kindness, honesty had more meaning than abstractions like progress or reform or liberalism, so often mentioned nowadays." The prose is less substantial than it is meant to be. Sentences which at a first reading are pregnant with wisdom sometimes turn out on a second to be merely cloudy. The separate identity of objects, persons, and feelings often defies words or escapes them. If the general tone is suitably elegiac, it also makes of Mr. Young's evocations a series of forlorn shadows.

PHOTOBIOGRAPHY. By Cecil Beaton. Doubleday. $6. Although it is excessively discreet and far less amusing than Peggy Guggenheim's "Out of this Century," Cecil Beaton's "Photobiography" is, pictures and text, intensely concerned with the same international cafe society and has the same documentary value as that autobiographical oddity. Mr. Beaton is still, probably, the most successful photographer of the contemporary fashionable world. However, his anecdotes and pictures after 1939 become dull and pretentious. The members of the House of Windsor, whom he now delights to portray, have, with the exception of the Duchess of Kent, neither chic nor glamour; it is only when these qualities are present in subject or situation that Mr. Beaton's work is brilliant. Anna Mae Wong, Princess Paley, Edith Sitwell, these were his proper sitters. Their portraits and those of many other women, taken amid the Victorian and Edwardian props subsequently appropriated and vulgarized by his imitators and reflecting all of what now seems the delightful giddiness of the thirties, have charm. They are never profound; they are never really pretentious. They recapture individual style—not character—and a whole rarefied and vanishing society as well.

WORTHY DR. FULLER. By William Addison. Macmillan. $3. Thomas Fuller is remembered today chiefly for his posthumous "Worthies of England," which is a sort of gossipy precursor of the Dictionary of National Biography. In his own time he was both a well-known preacher and the popular author of various works which, like his "Church History of Britain," manage to combine scholarship with anecdotes, amusing *obiter dicta,* and much "wit" in the style of the age. Mr. Addison's promise to "remove him from the nineteenth century of his biographers and restore him to his own seventeenth century" might seem to threaten a mere journalistic rehash, but fortunately Mr. Addison is so thoroughly soaked in the history, literature, and spirit of Fuller's day as to achieve an account which would have pleased his subject. Like Fuller he delights in "worthies," and like him thinks no good anecdote irrelevant. It was highly appropriate that Fuller should have been chosen to preach the funeral sermon over that keeper of a Cambridge livery stable whose odd method of doing business gave rise to the expression "Hobson's choice" and whose death tempted even Milton into one of his few jocosities. Fuller was a kindly, sensible, moderate man who suffered just enough during the Commonwealth to vindicate his honor, and even his casual statements, like the following from an account of Richard III, have their charm: "He was somewhat rumpled in his mother's womb (which caused his crooked back): otherwise handsome enough for a soldier." In "An Alphabet of Fullerisms" Mr. Addison includes: "Some men's souls are not strong enough but that a weighty secret will work a hole through them," and "Gunpowder is the emblem of political revenge; for it biteth first, and barketh afterwards, the bullet being at the mark before the report is heard; so that it maketh a noise, not by way of warning, but triumph."

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Letters to the Editors

A Moslem's Views on India

Dear Sirs: I wish to reply to some of the arguments advanced by M. I. Ansari in his letter appearing in your issue of September 8, 1951, under the head Minority Rights in India.

There is an Indian proverb, "If you are drowned, the world is drowned." Mr. Ansari unconsciously exemplifies the converse of this saying. He thinks that since he is a member of Parliament, prosperous, and fairly satisfied with his lot, the entire Moslem population of India is satisfied with its lot.

He says of the Moslems that "their rights are protected by the constitution." Ever since partition hardly a single Moslem festival has passed without Moslems being killed or wounded. Only a few days ago a number of Moslems were beaten and their shops looted because one shopkeeper was suspected of selling beef. Every day thousands of Moslems cross from India into Pakistan without permits in an attempt to escape from "secular" India and the "guaranties" provided by the Indian constitution.

India's so-called secular character was well illustrated a few months ago when the government restored the Somnath Temple (Hindu) and installed the Sivalingam at the cost of millions of dollars of public funds. The ceremony was presided over by the President of the republic. To liken India to the United States as a secular country is an insult to the latter.

It is a preposterous lie to suggest that Pakistan intends or contemplates a *jehad* or holy war against India. Pakistan wants nothing more than to be left alone and allowed to work for the progress and prosperity of its people. If the same desire for friendship and neighborliness animated India as animates Pakistan, all our disputes would be resolved.

What more courageous proposal could there be than that settlement of all outstanding disputes should be sought through negotiation, failing that through mediation, and failing that through arbitration. This has been suggested time and again by the Pakistan Prime Minister. But India recoils from any suggestion of arbitration. Why? Because if all disputes were settled, gone would be the hope of undoing partition, a hope still cherished by Indian leaders.

Pakistan desires peace, but not at the cost of eternal verities. It will not accept Indian pretensions in Kashmir. India occupies that land by force, and forcible suppression of a people is a crime against the principles of self-determination and the Charter of the United Nations. Pakistan will continue to press for an impartial plebiscite in Kashmir and will not be deterred from its course by any efforts to cloud the issue.

Mr. Ansari's letter is the best illustration of what would have happened to the hundred million Moslems in British India if there had been no partition and no Pakistan. Then the only Moslem voice the outside world would have heard from India would have come from souls like Mr. Ansari. Because there is Pakistan, there are individuals like me to give the other side of the picture.

Washington M. HAMID

Texan Takes a Trip

Dear Sirs: As a Texan making his first trip by car from his state to New York I made note of some things I considered highly significant:

1. Found a dry parish in Louisiana.
2. Crossed eleven state boundary lines; paid no customs, nobody searched my luggage, wasn't pestered by immigration officials. Thought it would be nice if the whole world operated that way.
3. Found in Virginia parking space alongside of a highway on top of a mountain where Negroes are permitted to stop their cars and view beautiful scenery. Whites stop at different place; Negroes not permitted there. Glad whole world doesn't operate *that* way.

Austin, Tex. HART STILWELL

New Grist for an Old Mill

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on the fine article by Robert S. Lynd, Our "Racket" Society, which appeared in your August 25 issue. Mr. Lynd tells us what we are, how we got that way, and why we stay that way, and offers a realistic conclusion concerning our future role (if any) in the revolution of our time. Publishing this article will probably supply new grist to such scribblers as the author of Sermons of Self-Destruction, which appeared in a recent issue of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, and add a redder coat to the "subversive" sign pinned on your periodical by the corporate planners of the American Century, but to me it goes far to redeem the liberal tone of your magazine.

WILLIAM C. RANDOLPH

St. Petersburg, Fla.

Are Grades Foolish?

Dear Sirs: In an article entitled Why They Cheat, which appeared in your August 18 issue, Hart Stilwell deplores the prevalence of cheating in our schools. He relates an anecdote about high-school students who cheated in all their classes except those of a blind teacher and comes to the conclusion that the way to stop cheating is to trust the student. This is a rather revolutionary idea. No one would suggest that bankers could promote honesty by doing business on faith. Yet bankers guard a far less important national resource than teachers. Mr. Stilwell does not say why he objects to cheating. He can't object for my reason, that cheating is stealing grades, since he believes that "the grade system is mostly foolishness."

Mr. Stilwell's article is confusing, it seems to me, mainly because he discusses the grade and exam system independently of the purpose of education in general. In my particular ivory tower we've had the custom for the last two thousand years of stating the premises which underlie our arguments as lucidly and completely as possible because we are afraid that wrong conclusions might be deduced from vague assumptions. Dragging myself out of my ivory tower and adjusting myself to Modern Group Living, I suppose I would have to go along with everyone else and admit that William James and John Dewey have freed the American mind from the trammels of deductive logic; that those who bury others in a mass of undigested details (called objective reporting) and *argumenta ad homine* (called psychological methods) are above criticism by a lowly mathematics professor. But there would still be a doubt in my mind that cheating can be eliminated by an "educational system in which all the teachers are blind." If you take advantage of innocent children in this way, you will have to accept responsibility for protecting them from the real tests of knowledge and competence during the rest of their lives. When they meet such tests they will cheat outrageously.

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Society, not to speak of civilization, depends on people who possess accurate knowledge and know how to use it. It is up to the schools to supply this knowledge. Moral leaders may weep over the grade and exam system, but I have never heard one of them describe any other way—economic, social, sexual—to test and grade people as fairer or state what ethical standards he considers nobler than the professor's ideal of honest knowledge and scientific competence.

GEORGE WHAPLES

Bloomington, Indiana

The Red Mantilla

Dear Sirs: American sales representatives and technicians are swarming over Spain these days in the wake of the late Admiral Sherman's visit. On a recent trip there, an American engineer, just out of M.I.T., told me: "The mines in this country are hell-holes. No ventilation at all. Wonder how the poor devils stand it. But we're going to change all that just as soon as the dollars begin to shower down."

The miners in Spain are well paid by Spanish standards—45 to 50 pesetas a day, whereas the average white-collar worker gets only 600 pesetas a month. (The peseta is worth less than 3 cents.) A towel costs 125 pesetas, an ordinary workingman's suit costs 700 pesetas, the poorest quality shirt 61 pesetas, a pair of shoes 160 pesetas and up. Many people wear slippers all the time.

In the area surrounding Madrid the ruins of the civil war still haven't been cleared away. The ground is plowed with a stick or, if the family is well off, with a primitive wooden plow.

I asked a Spaniard about the bread, which has no taste at all. "Ah, the bread," he said laughing," the flour is probably mixed with manure. Good flour can only be got on the black market. You can get good bread if you pay for it. Here you can get anything if you can pay for it."

Everyone is involved in the black market, in one way or another, either as seller or buyer. Many people have to take two jobs to make ends meet. For instance, there was a waiter at the restaurant where I used to have lunch. He was a policeman, but worked in the cafe during the three-hour siesta.

Newspapers and magazines plaster the newsstands all over the town, but few people read them. They have little confidence in what they read and the price is too high for most of them to pay.

At a bull fight I picked up a conversation with a Spanish student about Admiral Sherman's visit. He laughed, "We Spaniards are Toreros, and Americans think we will respond like bulls when they wave the red mantilla before us."

Madrid J. L. TELLER

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Portlanders' Tacit Consent

Dear Sirs: Richard Neuberger's article, Oregon Goes to the Dogs, which appeared in your August 25 issue, places the blame for the conditions in "staid and pious" Portland on an unholy coalition between gamblers and politicians. Things in Portland are as they are largely because the people allow them to be that way by their own indifference, lassitude, shortsightedness, and self-absolution. Mr. Neuberger feels that a majority of Oregonians abhor the conditions within the state. But just abhorring something without taking positive action isn't enough. Standing silently on the sidelines can be equated with assent, and that's what people are doing everywhere, as Mr. Kefauver's committee has brought out.

Red Bank, N. J. JACOB D. HAMMER

Old Virtues and Scandals

Dear Sirs: I would like to comment on the recent speech of Herbert Hoover in which he charged President Roosevelt with selling "the freedom of half a billion people down the river."

Mr. Hoover is justly indignant about "favoritism in government loans and contracts" and "the five percenters, mink coats, deep freezers, and free hotel bills." Yet this same Mr. Hoover sat in the Cabinet of President Harding and never uttered a word of protest against the scandals of that corrupt Administration. The handling of government oil lands in the Elk Hills and Teapot Dome reservations, for which his fellow Cabinet member, Albert Fall, went to jail, have never been mentioned by our self-righteous ex-President. Neither has he ever condemned the bootleg graft in which another high official was implicated during the era of the "Noble Experiment."

Ex-President Hoover adds no luster to his Administration by endeavoring to cast shame upon his successors.

Portland, Ore. GEORGE H. HORNE

N. A. A. C. P.'s Role at Trenton

Dear Sirs: The article by Charles R. Allen, Jr., entitled Six Minus Four: Trenton's Way Out, in the July 21 issue of *The Nation*, gives the false impression that the role of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the retrial of the Six was merely incidental. This is a form of misrepresentation by omission. The N. A. A. C. P. entered the case on the request of two of the defendants, John McKenzie and Horace Wilson, and retained a battery of competent lawyers headed by Raymond Pace Alexander of Philadelphia and including J. Mercer Burrell of Newark and Clifford Moore of Trenton. Moreover, the N. A. A. C. P., through its New Jersey State Conference of branches, through the "Committee of 100," and through its branches throughout the country, collected funds for the defense and helped publicize the case.

The N. A. A. C. P. lawyers were present every day of the fifteen-week trial, participated in the examination of witnesses, conducted research to unearth new evidence, and otherwise contributed effectively to the acquittal of the four. One would gather from reading Mr. Allen's article that only the Princeton committee did a real job in the trial and that the only lawyers who took an active part in the defense were Arthur Garfield Hays and George Pelletieri. In addition to the N. A. A. C. P. lawyers, Frank Katzenbach, a court-appointed attorney, successfully defended one of the defendants.

HENRY LEE MOON,
Director, Public Relations,
New York N. A. A. C. P.

Author's Correction

Dear Sirs: I'm sorry that in typing the report on the Ridgecrest convention for your issue of September 8 I made a stupid error and wrote "H. R. 2094, the Hill-Burton act," for "an amendment to the Hill-Burton act." The original bill of course was passed in 1946.

WILLSON WHITMAN

Southern Pines, N. C.

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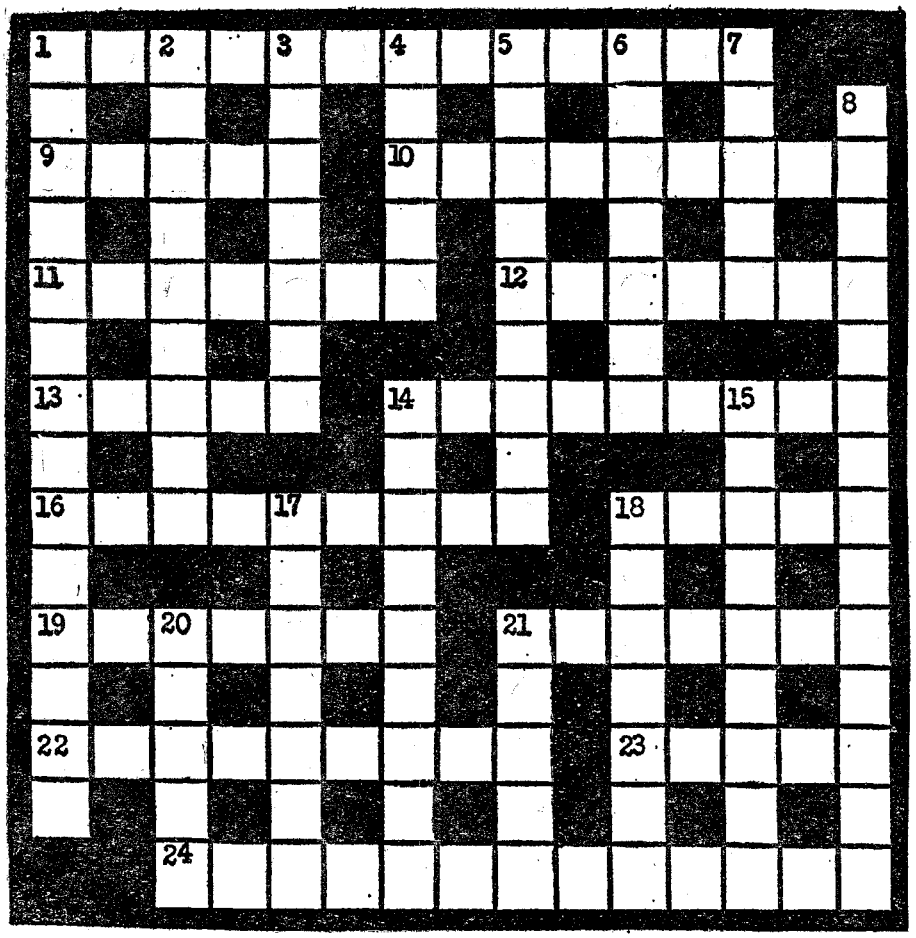
Crossword Puzzle No. 431

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Where those who reputedly can't are taught calm horn solos. (6, 7)
9 Sweet or green, it wouldn't take root (5)
10 Response against sham? (9)
11 The way to raise the value, hence an example of small change. (7)
12 See 18 down.
13 Remained, by the sound of it, proper. (5)
14 What kind of work gets done at the blasted place? (9)
16 No beast, it appears, is so stubborn. (9)
18 Stage discomfit, it sounds like. (5)
19 A lake of alfalfa. (7)
21 Prophesy. (7)
22 You might find the adoring sort around at one stage. (9)
23 West Point cadets find themselves under it. (5)
24 Towering rage? (2, 4, 7)

DOWN

1 Duty levied on first-class carriage? (8, 6)
2 Robert Young and Baltimore? (9)
3 Mason and maid might be. (7)
4 A step in the rain. (5)
5 Does the red-cap carry the beer for a southern meal? (3, 6)
6 Schemes that look so good, often don't on performance. (2, 5)
7 See 8.
8 and 7. Near the tuba neck? (2, 3, 5, 4, 5)
14 Making an eighth note to the British? (9)
15 Not so lively in a team in scrimmage. (9)
17 Close to how it pays to excel the other boarders? (2, 5)
18 and 12 across. Planters, for example, must be happy, it implies! (7, 2, 5)
20 You might find it a reverse to a small firm. (5)
21 Some recreation rooms are wasted away! (5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 430

ACROSS:—1 APPLE PANDOWDY; 10 HAREM; 11 ILLEGIBLE; 12 PROMOTION; 13 NORSE; 14 SNAP JUDGMENT; 19 HORS DE COMBAT; 22 RAILS; 24 MARCELLED; 25 SPINNERET; 26 APRIL; 27 HEADS AND TAILS.

DOWN:—2 PERSON; 3 LAMPOONED; 4 PHILIPPIC; 5 NYLON; 6 ORGAN; 7 DEBARKED; 8 SHAPE; 9 DEFECTS; 15 UNMERITED; 16 GUATEMALA; 18 ARTIFICE; 20 PLURAL; 21 ADULT; 23 SYNOD; 24 and 17 MARIA THERESA.

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